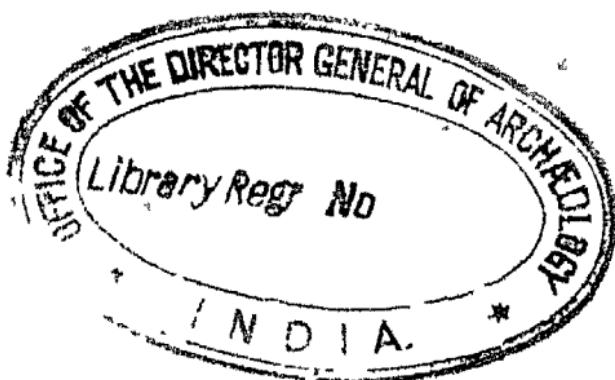


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Marong Mahawangsa

THE KEDDAH ANNALS

TRANSLATED FROM THE MALAY

BY

LIEUT-COL. JAMES LOW, C.M.R.A.S. & M.A.S.B.

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WHILE on his way to meet His Majesty on the latter's return from Europe in the autumn of 1907, H. R. H. Prince Damrong spent a short time in Singapore. He took advantage of the opportunity thus offered to visit the Library of the Raffles Museum. By the courtesy of His Excellency the Governor of the Straits Settlements, and of the Librarian of the Museum, all the facilities of the Library were placed at his disposal. Books having reference to Siam naturally claimed the particular attention of His Royal Highness, and some of these were borrowed by him.

Logan's Journal of the Indian Archipelago and Eastern Asia—a work long out of print—proved a mine of curious and valuable information. His Royal Highness has concluded that Lieutenant Colonel James Low's translation of the Annals of Keddah (Marong Mahawangsa) presents material of sufficient interest to warrant its reprint. It is contained in this volume, which is issued under the instructions of His Royal Highness.

O. FRANKFURTER,

Chief Librarian.

Vajirañána National
Library, August, 1908.

A TRANSLATION OF THE KEDDAH
ANNALS TERMED MARONG
MAHAWANGSA ;

AND

SKETCHES OF THE ANCIENT CONDITION OF SOME OF
THE NATIONS OF EASTERN ASIA, WITH
REFERENCES TO THE MALAYS.

BY

LIEUT.-COL. JAMES LOW, C.M.R.A.S. & M.A.S.B.

THE writings of Leyden, Raffles, Marsden and Crawfurd did much to dispel the mist, which shrouded the regions of Eastern Asia and the Eastern Archipelago from the gaze of the inquirer after ethnographical and other interesting pursuits, and of late years considerable light has been thrown on the histories of Indo-china, and China, by various writers, either publishing separately, or in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta, and we have specimens from the pen of the talented Editor of the Journal in which this paper will appear, which exhibit what may yet be effected by a combination of industry and capacity, when brought to bear on the many barriers which the ignorance and barbarism of the Indo-Chinese nations and Eastern islanders, oppose to our progress towards truth.

Much information may now lie concealed in Native manuscripts, but the means for extracting it are but scanty, for few will take the trouble of learning languages for the mere, and doubtful chance of finding them lead to some desirable literary of antiquarian result. For the examin-

ation of the more recondite Pali in all its forms, scarcely any help can be obtained from the Priests or Laity of Indo-china or the Archipelago. There are no Pundits as in India, ever ready and able to lend their aid to the traveller over the toilsome path of Archeology, while political considerations unfortunately operate too frequently against all research.

The French literati have lately opened a Chinese mine of literary and historical wealth. From the proximity of China to the most ancient nations of Central Eastern Asia, and the long intercourse which has existed between them, we have reason to believe that accounts of the ancient condition of the latter lie now hidden in the libraries of the former. The Pali will not, I suspect, unless where it may occur in Inscriptions, throw any light on the history of any of these regions, or unless perhaps where Pali works, having been written *in India*, may contain allusions to countries to the Eastward.

The present is merely an attempt to throw into shape and order some of the loose notes I had already made, during a long sojourn to the Eastward, and of journeys in various directions. But, from their desultory nature, I have thought it advisable to introduce them as explanatory commentaries on a translation of some original and hitherto untranslated native work.

The one selected for this purpose is entitled *Marong Mahawangsa*: which I have carefully, and as literally as the Malayan idiom has permitted, translated, only leaving out a tedious exordium by the native compiler, quite foreign to his subject, and also those repetitions in which he indulges, like most oriental writers, without reserve.

It is a History of Keddah on the Malayan Peninsula ; and, independently of any intrinsic value which it may posses, it is interesting to the British, since the settlement of Penang and Province Wellesley once formed an integral portion of the country of Keddah.

This Keddah is the Quida of the maps, and a Siamese province, although chiefly peopled by Malays. It is about 110 to 120 miles long, with a varying breadth of from about 20 to 30 or 40 miles at most. It is very fertile in grain. Cattle abound in its plains. and its hills yield rich tin ore, and perhaps gold.

I received the history from the hands of the late Raja, whose Malayan title was Sultan Ahmed Sajoodin (Aladin), Halim Shah, and whose Siamese title was Chau Pangeran, who in an evil hour had been led by bad advice to throw off his allegiance to Siam and had fled to Penang.*

I have found some obscurity in several of its passages, which, even with the aid of intelligent natives, has with difficulty been removed. Many of the words in it I believe are not in Marsden's Dictionary, and are not now in common use.

The author has not chosen to give his name, and he has committed two grievous errors for a historian, as he has neither informed us of the date whence he sets out, or of that when he himself wrote. But a date in the middle of the work and a copy of the native history of Achin, have enabled me to supply his omissions.

I shall have occasion to shew that the Colony described in this history came from India.

* His flight was occasioned by a sudden invasion of Keddah by a Siamese force in 1821,—an invasion memorable for the atrocities which attended and the desolation which followed it.—ED.

Hence it is probable that its Annals were written in some Hindu dialect, until Islamism prevailed in Keddah, when the previous order of things was subverted, and the Arabic character was introduced.

THE MARONG MAHAWANGSA.

I.

THE VOYAGE AND SHIPWRECK OF MARONG MAHAWANGSA.

The work begins with praises of the Prophet Suliman or Solomon "to whom the dominion of the whole world and every living thing in it was entrusted by God."

There was a Raja of Rum who despatched an Ambassador named Raja *Marong* [*Maha*] *Wungsia* to China in order to negotiate a marriage betwixt the Prince his son and a daughter of His Chinese Majesty. This Ambassador traced his lineage from the inferior gods. His father was descended from the genii, and his mother from the Devadeva or demigods. He was a great Raja amongst the many Rajas who had been assembled by the King on this occasion, and he moreover wore a diadem. (1)

Raja Marong Mahawangsa had married, contrary to the wish of his parents, a girl whose father was a Gurgassi Raja and whose mother was descended from the Raksasa. Wherever he went he took her with him, as he feared the grandees of the [? Persian] Court, who dreaded his preternatural powers (a).

(a) Here we catch him tripping, since, not much further on, he stigmatizes the people found in Keddah by the Ambassador on his arrival as Gurgassi, which term corresponds nearly with the *Rukshas* of the Hindus or the evil genii of their mythology.

After the war of Rama the Island of Lankapuri became a desert, and fell under the rule of the mighty bird Girda, which however had previously harboured on the Island (b). He was a lineal descendant from Maha Raja Dewan, and he was strong in battle, of supernatural power, and dreaded by animals, reptiles and birds.

It happened that the bird Rajawali paid a visit to Girda, and asked him if he had not learned that the King of Rum intended contracting a marriage betwixt his son and a princess of China, although these two countries lay wide apart, and that on account of the distance between them, a fleet of vessels was to be despatched from Rum to convey the royal lady from China. Girda replied that the old Crow had already given him this information, as he had seen the gift bearing embassy on its way to China. Girda further observed that the king of Rum would most likely fail in this attempt to display his power and consequence to distant potentates. "Have a little patience, Rajawali, I will instantly fly off and pay my respects to the Prophet Suliman (Solomon), whose super-human wisdom has exalted him over all the other kings of the earth—and whose prime minister is Hurmanshah. His Majesty will assuredly interdict the king of Rum from negotiating such an alliance. (2) (c).

(b) The island is Ceylon—and Girda is the Indian Garuda, the eagle king, the snake-devourer, the bird of Heri and of Vishnu. Rajawali is another king of eagle famous in Hindu mythology.

(c) His aquilae Majesty does not let us know his objections to the match. It could scarcely have been on the score of religion, since the Emperors of China were Islamites.

But our Chronicler here perpetrates a grievous anachronism, when he makes Garuda speak of King Solomon as if

Girda having reported to king Suliman the state of affairs, His Majesty observed that, when a Prince and Princess are once betrothed, it is not an easy matter to break off the alliance. Girda, not satisfied with this remark, swore that he would abandon the haunts of men, and cease to wheel in the heavens, should he fail to effect their separation. The King said—very well—let me know the result. Girda now soared aloft on his dusky pinions, and speedily reached China. He here alighted in a garden where the Princess, attended by her foster-mother, and an attendant, was gathering flowers. Girda instantly lifted the three into the air, one by his beak, and the two others in his talons,—and carried them over the sea to Lankapuri —where he protected them, and supplied the princess with every delicacy she desired.

The Sultan of Runn gave a large buhtera, or ship, to his chief, Marong Mahawangsa, for the accommodation of the Prince, and another for himself and his people, for the voyage to China. To these were added many smaller vessels for the suite. The fleet sailed on a fortunate day, and as it went along, touched at all the Ports which were then under the empire of Runn,—the Embassy receiving at each of these, the accustomed marks of respect. At length it entered the Sea of Hindustan, and beheld its wonders. Then coasting down that continent, the fleet anchored occa-

alive—although he only follows in the steps of many native eastern authorities—who use the name of “the wisest of men” as a sort of talisman for producing supernatural every inconsistency,—a method which was much in vogue in the

sionally in the bays of *the Islands*, where the people sought for shell-fish, fired *guns*, and otherwise amused themselves.

After a while it reached the mouth of the *Changong* river where reigned Raja Galungi or Kalungi. (3).

Girda, bent on his plan of frustrating the expedition, here raised a violent storm of wind and rain, thunder and lightning. He was beheld high in the air, casting his vast shadow over the fleet. The Prince and the Ambassador directed their men to shout and to fire *guns*, and discharge enchanted arrows at the direful bird, who, wild with rage, had taken up his position to the westward of the fleet. Marong Mahawangsa now strung his bow or busor, and adjusted to it the arrow called Ayunan (d). The common arrows and shot merely glanced off Girda's feathers, but this enchanted one put him to flight. This however was only effected with the loss of three of the vessels. Girda had, before this, shifted from the west, and hurled another tempest on the vessels from north to south. Thus was Girda for the present driven off by the potency of the arrow Ayunan, which has its point tipped with red, as if with fire, and which ascended towards Girda with a noise like that of a tufan —interposing betwixt the latter and the ships a mountain barrier. The remaining ships cast anchor that night to see if Girda would return, but, as he had fled to the forests on the shore, they weighed next morning and set sail southwardly. (4).

After a voyage of some days, the ships

(d) I believe this bow to be the cross bow.

reached Tawai river, where it disembogues into the sea (e).

The fleet had scarcely arrived when Girda again appeared, sending a tempest before him of rain, thunder and lightning. The two vessels of the Prince and Ambassador were anchored close together, and the other ships were stationed around them, and kept ready with their arms. Marong Mahawangsa, having seized his bow with the arrow named *Bratpura*, with its point flaming with fire, and, having stood out on the gunwale, shot the arrow towards the sky. It sped with a loud noise, and in its descent dispelled the tempest. But notwithstanding the innumerable flights of arrows, and the constant firing and shouting of the sailors, Girda, contrived to carry off three more vessels—for he was invulnerable to all these missiles. So, after a short respite, he returned to his work of destruction as before.

Again Marong Mahawangsa sent the arrow *Bratpura* at him, which he avoided, and it thus fell into the sea. Whereupon Girda snatched away three more ships in his beak and talons, and soared aloft with them. Thus six vessels were lost with all their crews. On the ensuing day, as Girda did not appear, the

(e) This is Tavoy, now in possession of the British on the Tenasserim Coast, some description of which was given by me to the R. A. Society, and abridged in its Transactions (2). It was a place in the days our Author alludes to, of much more importance to those navigating the eastern seas than it now is, when even the native vessels from Arab ports and from India strike across the ocean, guided by the compass. Besides it may be noticed that the population of the regions to the Eastward of India professed either Buddhism or the doctrines of one or other of the two great sects of Hindus which divided India, and consequently that the navigators of the

remnant of the fleet set sail in its now dismantled condition, having had twelve ships with all their crews destroyed. The fleet soon after got to the port of *Mrit*. (f).

But here at *Mrit* it was again assailed by a furious storm, which darkened the heavens and shook the timbers of the ships, brigs, and galleys. Marong Mahawangsa resorted to the former expedient, and having got upon the top of the stern, drew his bow called *Prasa Sampuni Gambura* and shot his flaming arrow, saying, speed arrow and slay *Gilda*. But *Gilda* avoided it, by making it glance off his plumage. Enraged, he pounced upon three more of the ships and vessels, and carried them off as he had done with the rest, in spite of the firing and shouting of the crews, for these vessels were also destroyed. Raja Mahawangsa, in a furious passion, shot another

periods antecedent to the spread of Islamism there, probably found always a welcome at such places, as they touched at. Buddhism, it is well known, prevails at this day in Pegu, and all along the Coast of Tenasserim, while Hinduism has been always tolerated, and never persecuted by the Buddhists of these regiments. The natives of Tavoy say that about two thousand years ago, colonies arrived from Martaban and from the Eastward, and that long after this event people reached it from Arracan in search of iron, a rather curious but not probable reason, and settled at Daunngwe or Thaungwe, about five miles up the Tavoy river, and on the west bank. This party called the country Dahweh "knife, buy." They brought along with them the Buddhist religion.

When the present town of Tavoy was built, the people could not I think have been under much apprehension from the Siamese. If they had been so, they would have erected the Fort on the west side of the bank, where the ground is higher.

(2) 1834 to 1840 Art. XIV.

(f) This was the name then, and in fact is the native name now, given to the British possession of Mergui. It doubtless appertained at the time of their voyage to

arrow towards the heavens, whereupon the arrow was changed into a bird named *Jintayu*, which gave chase to Girda. But Girda vomited fire on *Jintayu*, and consumed him. Girda now kept aloof in the mountains, dreading the supernatural endowments of Marong Mahawangsa. Next morning the remnant of the fleet sailed away from Mrit, and after some days came in sight of *Salang*, in the sea called *Tappan*. Here having cast anchor abreast of the Island, the Ambassador sent a party on shore to ask permission of the Chief or Raja for wood and water, but the Prince's vessel with other ships stood on down the Coast, by rounding the point of the Island. (g).

About a day and night after the Prince left Salang and was making for the Island of

Siam—for it was under the latter, in A.D. 1053 as I find in the *Bot Phra Ayukhan*, A Siamese work or Digest of Siamese Law, which I procured myself at Mergui, when it was taken by the British forces. This Digest purports to have been compiled by order of *Phra Ni* (Sri) *Mut* a Prince of the Royal line of Siam in the year 1591 of the Sakarat Era and to have been given in 1596 of the same Era to Chow Phuaya Iutha (1) Wangsa, who went as general of the Siamese troops when they invaded Tenasserim. M. D'Anville thought that the Bersolie of Ptolemy might imply Mergui. (2) Europeans frequented Mergui about the close of the 17th Century, and the English had a Port here in 1687 A.D., but the settlers were nearly all murdered. In 1793 the Siamese yielded and ceded to Ava the whole Coast of Tenasserim south to Pak Chan, which last is now the boundary to the south betwixt the British and Siamese territories.

(1) Indra.

(2) D'Anville's.

(g) The Author is very clear in this part of his description of the voyage, Salang, then peopled it seems, is the Siamese name for Junceylon—and this is yet employed by the surrounding maritime nations. It is probably a corruption of Seilan—or Selandip or Serindeb or Selandine, all names, according to Bryant, of Ceylon. It was then, as it now is, a Siamese possession, and was conveniently

Lankapuri, (h) Girda espied his ships, and perceived also that Marong Mahawangsa was not come up, so he attacked them with redoubled fury, and sunk the whole ; the men who were drowned far exceeded in number those who were saved alive. Fortunately the Prince of Rumi got hold of a plank and floated to Lankapuri. In the mean while, Marong Mahawangsa's ship arrived at the spot of the shipwreck, and picked up the survivors who were floating about.

Marong Mahawangsa was excessively grieved at the loss of the Prince ; especially as he felt himself responsible for it to the Sultan of Rumi. But after a vain search, he sailed in his vessel, the only remaining one, to the eastward.

Keeping along this coast of the continent, Marong Mahawangsa, arrived at a bay and a point of land. He inquired of an old Malim (Captain) who was in his ship "if he knew the locality," who said, "the large island we have reached is now becoming attached to the main land, and its name is Pulo Srai (or

situated for the Buddhist Priests of Ceylon, who were accustomed to pass over the Peninsula to Siam. I could not however find, when I was there in 1824, any ancient temples of Buddha. In the adjoining Siamese Province of P'hunga the Buddhist Priests are in numbers, very disproportionate to the population.

If Girda had attacked the Prince at this bluff southern point of Salang, he might have been pretty sure of his quarry. When making the same course from Mergui in a small brig in 1825 we were very nearly lost on the same point. We were on our last tack, and only cleared the towering rocks by a cable's length -the water being deep to their base. The appellation of Tappan to the sea at Salang is I suspect quite obsolete, as I have not found any one who could explain it.

(h) Lankapuri is the ancient name of the cluster of Islands now called by the natives Lankawali, and laid down in our maps as the "Lancavy Islands." Here we

Sri) my lord. That small island which your highness sees is named *Pulo Jumbul*, and that other, more in shore, is *Pulo Lada*." On hearing this, Mahawangsa expressed himself satisfied and added, if such be the case let us anchor. The vessel was then moored in the east of the bay near to or at the point of land, on the main shore; that is, *the land* more extensive than that large island.

Raja Marong Mahawangsa then went on shore, attended by his chiefs and followers. (i).

MAHAWANGSA ARRIVES IN KEDAH, AND BECOMES RAJA.

When the ship had been moored, Marong Mahawangsa, accompanied by all his chief men and followers, went on shore, and in a short while he was visited by *very great numbers* of

have in the first appetitive one of the names applied to Ceylon - and which was doubtless also given to the Land-vies by the Hindus, during their voyages to the Eastward, if not by Mahawangsa himself. These are bold Island s, formed of and flanked by towering masses of limestone. I could find but few tracts of level ground upon these Islands. They are dependencies of the Siamese Government of Keddah.

But Langkaputra was the name of Ceylon and also of its capital. Ceylon was also termed *Lanka Dvipa* (1). Ptolemy called it *Salice*, and some ancient author named it *Sinundri*. There was a *laukapuri* like also lying somewhere betwixt Palembang and Jambi in Sumatra.

(1) Forbes' Ceylon p. 7.

(i) We have now reached the termination of the voyage. From the question put to the Malim and his reply, it is evident that the Chronicler knew, or supposed, that the place with whose localities the Malim seemed familiar, had been before visited by him and therefore that it was *not* a new port, or at least that coasting or other vessels used to touch there for some purpose or other. This I think is a very material point to be kept in view, because, from the general import of the Chronicle or History, the writer seems rather desirous of having it inferred that Keddah had not been visited before—by strangers.

the very *large* men (*k*) belonging to the tribe of the *Girgassi*. Now Raja Marong Mahawangsa knew the *Caste* of these Girgassi, and he encouraged them by speaking to them in a soft tone of voice. The Girgassi were both afraid of him and astonished at his demeanour ; and they trembled with apprehension, as they had not previous to or about that period been used to see his like. Mahawangsa addressing the visitors said, “ I have put in at this place, and if it should be *quite convenient to you, I wish to remain until I can obtain intelligence of the Prince of Rum, whether he be alive or not*”. The Girgassi respectfully saluting Mahawangsa, replied, “ Your servants are all overjoyed at your lordship’s request, because we have not established a Raja over this place ; therefore your highness may select a spot to reside on.” Raja Mahawangsa accordingly walked about, followed by his own suite, and all the tribes of Girgassi, and at last pitched upon a delightful and convenient spot for a residence. Having quitted his ship, he erected a Fort with a ditch around it ; also a

If our author’s description of the Coast of Keddah be a correct one, it will also assure us of the fact, that the sea has within the past five or six hundred years made extensive recessions. (1) In order to ascertain if possible if such change had been effected, and also with other objects in view, I undertook during the year 1847 a rather more toilsome excursion to and made a fuller examination of the Keddah country from the British boundary to Purlis than circumstances had before admitted of, and I am happy to add, that my observations have verified pretty closely our author’s accounts of localities, and not only in the above instances, but in *those which he brings forward in the subsequent parts of his work*.

(1) See some remarks on this subject *ante* vol. 11 p. 117.

(*k*) The words are orang besar besar- which properly signify great men--men of rank. But it seems clear that the author intended by them “*big powerful men*” they being of the tribe of Girgassies.

palace, and a very spacious Balei or Hall of audience, to which he gave the name of *Lankasuka* on account of its having been built in the midst of all kinds of rejoicings and festivities, and because objects for field sports were abundant, from the chasing of the deer, the roe, the palandok (*l*) and the wild ox, to the snaring and catching of numerous species of birds, all of which loaded the feasts and made glad the hearts of the people. The Girgassi, who were without a Raja, had only Panghulus or Officers with them. (5)

When all had been prepared, Mahawangsa took up his abode in the Palace along with his wife, (*m*) and had also his effects conveyed to it from the ship, and all the mantri or ministers of state, the hulubidung or body guards, and the para penghawa or warriors, erected dwellings in gardens surrounding the Raja's abode and fort, and daily paid their respects to him.

When the report of this settlement having been formed had gone abroad, traders and strangers came from other regions to trade there, assembling in multitudes; and the "good sense and conciliatory demeanour of the Raja

(*l*) The Chevrotin of Buffon.

(*m*) The Raja is here stated to have landed his wife, no children being alluded to, which requires to be noted.

Such a large and populous establishment encourages the hope that traces of it may yet be discovered when the country becomes cleared from its dense forest, if not sooner. The wars which have during the past twenty years, nearly depopulated Keddah, are now happily over, and that fine province may in time recover some of its former prosperity. It is pretty clear from the fore-going passage that Srai was at the period therein alluded to very populous, and also that it lay in one of the tracts of commerce. I may remark that the historian applies Hindu and Javanes titles to Mahawangsa's officers, the same as are bestowed at the present day by the various Malayan people to the eastward.

towards his chief men and the ryots, caused them to live in ease and plenty. Numbers of people also, with their families, came to live under his rule. From month to month, from year to year, the population of ryots continued to increase greatly. Thus the Raja became secure upon the throne, and his prudence and liberality, his wisdom and justice increased his fame.

NOTES.

(1) By Rum (†) or Rumi the nations to the eastward of Hindostan have generally meant Constantinople, and sometimes its tributaries merely. It is even doubtful if Persia has not been included by them under the same title. But it appears from the native writings which are extant, that the Malays, and to some extent the Indo-chinese, derived most of their knowledge of the west from Bagdad, which was considered by them as a portion of the Empire of Rumi. In the early history of the Malays, the

At the time of settling this colony there were many noted trading marts at no great distance from it. There were Achin, Singapura, Pegu, and the Tenasserim ports, Menangkabu and its sea port in Sumatra, and other places along the East Coast of that splendid Island, of which *Perlae* was then probably one, as it was in Marco Polo's time, for he visited it in 1292-3. Then there was Java, with its Hindu population, the Eastern Islands—specially China and its Tributaries.

Mahawangsa's wife is specially mentioned by the Author of this history, as having arrived with him at Keddah, so she was quite at home with her kindred race the Girgassi. But such vessels as then navigated these seas can hardly be supposed to have any of them carried more than from 200 to 300 persons. This would be a sufficient nucleus, and was doubtless increased by subsequent unnoted emigrations from India.

(1) Rum—was or is the Turkish Empire—or that of the Seljuks of Iconium—Asia minor—Anatolia, Mundi, Diet. 7.

first King of Menangkabau in Sumatra was the son of a Prince of India and of the race of Raja Sekandar Zulkardeini, or Alexander the Great.

It will appear further on, that our author has contrived to blend, but in rather a bungling manner, two narratives regarding very dissimilar regions and people. The lineage assigned to the Ambassador sufficiently proves that his country could not have been Rumi, but that it indicates some part of India, and likewise that he belonged to one of the two great religious divisions of the Indians, the Hindus, and the Buddhists. It is probable enough that the contemporaneous arrival at Keddah, of two parties of strangers, the one from some place in the Byzantine Empire, the other from India, gave rise to the confusion we find in the beginning of this Keddah chronicle.

The voyage of the Ambassador from Rumi, is narrated so circumstantially, and in general so correctly, with reference to the geography of the Coasts along which it was made, that there seems to be no reason for our not admitting it to have been performed by some known navigator of the period in the direction of the Straits of Malacea, if not actually to Keddah. The name of this navigator had probably been forgotten, previous to the labours of our Author, and was afterwards identified by the latter with Marong Mahawangsa, who was the leader of a Colony from India.

I am almost induced, from the lineage given for him, to believe that this latter person partook of the sacerdotal, as well as of the lay character. But our Author, owing probably to his Islamitic contempt for every phase of religious feeling beyond the pale of his own creed, has only

casually alluded to the subject. Marong Mahawangsa is not described by him as having given to Keddah a new religion—although his descendants are expressly noticed by him, as will be seen further on, as image worshippers. I am disposed to think that the Buddhist religion was prevalent in Keddah before the advent of that Colony and that the Sivaic superstition was grafted upon it by the priests who arrived with the colonists.

The antiquarian remains which years of research have supplied to me, lead me to the conclusion that both Hindus and Buddhists had votaries in Keddah for several centuries, while at the same time they serve to corroborate the Native Author's assertions. But this subject cannot be here entered on.

Before proceeding further, it may be as well to trace the etymology of the name Marong Mahawangsa. Marong is a Siamese word used in their astrological or astronomical works. It is applied to a man who can by supernatural means assume any shape he pleases. A Buddhist Priest of Siam acquaints me that it is a title bestowed on a military chief—and also signifies a person who can preternaturally change his appearance.

It is of course derived either from the Bali or Sanscrit.

It will be found further on that I have advanced sufficient evidence to prove that the Settlement of Keddah by a foreign colony may be admitted.

Now this was one of the periods when the people of Calingara, probably the Calingae of Ptolemy (1)—called to the eastward Klings—

were engaged in expeditions to the Straits of Malacca and to Sumatra, and one of these approached close to Kedah. Kalinga means "the coast of creeks." West Kalinga stretched from Cuttack on the W. to the west mouth of the Ganges. Central Kalinga comprised a large Island in the embouchure of the Ganges. Mao Calinga was the country of the Magas or Mugs—or Chittagong, and perhaps, some adjacent parts. (2) Kalinga included what is now Orissa and Cuttack. Tanjore was called Chola. It was from Kalinga or Orissa that the tooth of Buddha, now the chief relic in Ceylon, was procured by King Mahasen of that Island in A. D. 275. (3) It is related in the Sajara Malayu or Malayan annals (which were translated into English by Dr. Leyden) that Raja Suran of Bijanugur invaded the Peninsula of Malacca with a large force of Klings—first attacking the state of Gunga Nagara or *Perak*" (which adjoins Kedah on the South,) and afterwards subdued Johor. His son Bichitram Shah headed subsequently two separate expeditions. In the first he had 20 vessels—but he was wrecked in the Sea of *Silbow*, and half of his fleet was lost. But he got back afterwards.

Maha means in Sanscrit, it need scarcely be observed, exalted great, superior, &c.

Bangsia is a Sanscrit term for tribe—race—lineage—caste. It has been adopted by the Malays according to its original orthography; but by the Siamese and the Achinese it has been converted into Wongsa and Wangsa. Thus in Siam the Phriya Wongsa is a high Judicial Officer—and another man of official rank is

(2) A. R. vol. IX p. 81 et seq.

(3) Col. Sykes' No. XII J. T. R. A. S.

termed Wongsa Surisak, while in a Siamese M. S. in my possession of date 1591 Sakarat Era, one of the general's names was Chau Phriya Intha (or Indra) Wongsa, and in A. D. 1015 (?) the reigning Prince of Achin was entitled Maha Raja D'herma Wangsa. Both these nations have doubtless derived this word from the Pali or Magadhi language—for the ancient history of Ceylon, so ably translated and commented on by the late The Hon'ble Mr. Turnour, is termed the *Mahawanso*—which the original Native Author of that work advert's to in those terms, “Mahawanso is the abbreviation of Mahantanawanso, the genealogy of the great. It signifies both pedigree and inheritance, from generation—being itself of high import, either on that account or because it also bears the two above significations—hence Mahawanso.” (1)

A Siamese Buddhist Priest informed me that Mahawangsa is a title bestowed in written works, on the eldest son of a superior or Prime Minister.

At the latter part of the fourteenth century Patani was reduced to subjection by Chau Sri Bangsa, a son of the Emperor of Siam. Maha Wanso means a Powerful Dynasty. There were the Surya Wangsœ—children of the Sun. In the Malayan annals Narawangsa is described to be “a Malayan title of old.”

The matrimonial embassy from *Rum* has a close connection in point of time with one described by Marco Polo—whose veracity, while relating what he himself witnessed, or performed, however it may have been cavilled at for

(1) The Hon. Mr. Turnour's introduction to the *Mahawangsa* p. XXXI.

several centuries, has by the moderns been amply confirmed. He informs us (2) that the then King of Persia had sent an embassy to Kublai Khan the Tartar Emperor of China to obtain for his wife a daughter of the latter--but that the King of Persia had died in A. D. 1291 before the embassy had reached his Court conveying the Princess Marco Polo accompanied the embassy on its return voyage; which commenced in the beginning of 1291 A. D. The vessels lay three months at Java—and were after this, eighteen months in the Indian seas before they got to Persia, and the envoys presented themselves at the Court of King Arghun. The whole voyage therefore occupied twenty-one months; which the Arabs, who were perhaps then the chief, if not the only navigators from the west of the seas to the eastward, now accomplish in about the same time that European vessels take. (3)

Sir S. Raffles in his History of Java gives an example of the fondness with which the people of the E. Archipelago looked towards the Rumi. He says after the first discovery of Java (no date) the Prince of Rum sent there twenty thousand families to people the island. But they all perished (?) by sea excepting twenty families, which returned to Rum. It is most probable however that this impossible immigration represents one which had been sent by the Prince of Kling—but less exaggerated as to numbers.

The vizier of They Khaton, and the officer who opposed the scheme of bank notes in Persia, consulted there the Ambassadors from China, who had just arrived from that country.

(2) Marco Polo—p. 11 to 14.

(3) [See the Remarks on this Voyage, *ante* vol. 11 p. 693.]

"Arghun Khan had sent Ambassadors to Kublai Khan, Emperor of Tartary and China to obtain a princess to wife, but he had died before their return. They Khaton, who was at the time King Regent, directed that the Chinese princess should be given in marriage to Ghazan, the son of Arghun Khan. As Arghun Khan did not die before the end of A. D. 1291, the returning mission from China must have reached the Court of Tabreez in A. D. 1292 or 93." (1)

Marco Polo however was not then present. His father and uncle had been at that Court 30 to 40 years before the period of Marco Polo's relation of the marriage. It is curious to find the Chinese at that period adopting paper money for the purposes of finance or circulation, a discovery which Europeans fondly attribute to themselves. The notes were stamped with the King's Seal—and when worn out were renewed at the mint. Notes are in use at this day in China.

Marco Polo does not positively inform us if the Princess ever returned to China. If she did, perhaps some disasters to the ships may have given rise to the mistakes of the Keddah Chronicler. The latter however minutely, as will be seen, describes the arrival of the second fleet at Keddah, being that which was sent in search of the lost Ambassador—and apparently about 20 years subsequently to his arrival at Keddah. I cannot make *his*, that is the Indian's advent earlier than A. D. 1218.

In the year of the Hijra 677 or A. D. 1299 the Emperor Pholagus expelled Baldwin II from the throne of Constantinople or Rumi, so that

(1) Malcolm's Persia—quoting the Author of the *Dil Kusha*.

no Mahometan mission could for a long while after that date have proceeded from that city to China. I am inclined from collateral evidence, as well as from the internal evidence of the Keddah Annals or History, to place the advent of Marong Mahawangsa somewhere betwixt A. D. 1218 and 1230. The natives of India at the above date had frequent intercourse with the Eastern Straits and Archipelago, for they had for centuries previously possessed settlements in these regions. Their voyages were probably all coasting ones, where practicable. Marco Polo, according to Mr. Crawfurd (2), made such a voyage and without the aid of the mariner's compass,—an instrument which I find by *Fa Hian's* account was unknown in A. D. 414 (3). By the Venetian's own account he had three months provisions on board his fourteen junks—he took three months to sail from China to Java—and was eighteen months in reaching Ormuz.

In our present work the author terms China *'Chin*. Sir J. Davis, in his very instructive work on China, considers that its present name may have been derived from *Tsien*.

Mr. Crawfurd states that *'Chin* was the name given to it by the Persians and Arabians, and also by the people of the Indian Archipelago.

The trade, says the author of the Translation of the *Mahawanso* (4) betwixt Omar in the Persian Gulf and China was brisk in A. D. 850 but had been carried on since A. D. 450.

(2) Crawfurd's *Archipelago* vol. III.

(3) Lt-Col Sykes—quot. M. Landresse *Journal of the Roy. As. Soc.* No. XII.

(4) Turnour's *Transl. Mahawanso*. [See also this *Journal* vol. II p. 603, *Antiquity of the Chinese trade with India and the Indian Archipelago*. Ed.]

I do not know upon what authority Sir S Raffles (in his History of Java I think) states that a King of Ceylon was, or the Kings of Ceylon were, tributary to Rome in the year of the Hijra 601. It was doubtless a story invented by the Arabs. There is an account in the Malayan annals having reference to about the same period as Marong Mahawangsa's advent—and having one point of resemblance—that of shipwreck.

The son of Raja Nizam al Mulik Aebar Sha Mani Farendan, King of Pahali in India " (by which is meant Calinga)" sailed after his father's death for Malacca. He was wrecked, but afterwards reached Malacca and visited Sultan Mahomed Shah. (1)

We find in Sir S. Raffles' History of Java (2) that a Prince of Rome sent [20,000] twenty thousand families to people that country—but that they were all destroyed. This would give about 80,000 souls, allowing four persons to a family. But whence they came is not specified. Although this account may be an error in the traditions of Java, its possibility might not be questionable, provided it could be shown that the Romans exercised a control over a portion of India. That Rome might have in such event had Ceylon at one period amongst its tributary or nominally tributary Kingdoms might have been possible, for we find that the Romans carried on a regular trade to India from 400 to 350 B. C. up to 650 A. D. when Islamism came in their way. There was an Embassy from Ceylon

(1) Leydens Mal. An.

(2) P. 65 to 69 [We cannot find the passage, but Sir S. Raffles must mean Rum, or Constantinople. In the second vol. he mentions a colony from the Red Sea.—ED.]

to Claudius at Rome (3) and they had at the last date a factory, defended by two Cohorts of 1,200 men, at Muziris, on the Bombay side of India—and also had built there a temple to Augustus (4) and there were Indian Astrologers at Rome in 50 A. D. The Ambassadors from S. India informed the Emperor of China Seu-an Woo that India carried on a trade with the Roman Empire and Syria about 500 to 516 A. D. (5) An Embassy was sent by King Porus of India to Augustus who was then in Spain in B. C. 24. Xerxes had a large body of Hindoos (? Buddhists) in his service when he invaded Greece in B. C. 480. But there were Soothsayers according to *Isaiah* in the West who came from India about B. C. 700. When Alexander the Great returned from his Indian expedition a large body of Indians accompanied him with their families. (6)

(2) All early nations drew omens from the Crow or Raven of Cadmus. Both Hazvini and Damir attribute inspiration to him—and the Mahometans have preserved the Tahmidical fable of his voice responding to his Celestial Counterpart, and of the certain arrival of the final judgment when that voice shall cease to be heard. They also believe that when Kabil or Abel was killed by his brother Cain, there was no precedent for the disposal of the body. Two crows therefore fought together until one of them was killed, when other Crows came and

(3) Vincent.

(4) A. R. vol. X.

(5) M. Landresse's *Wan Hien* and *Klung Koon* quoted by Mr. Turnour in the preface to the Ceylonese *Mahawanso*.

(6) A. R. vol. IX.

buried the dead one--by scratching a hole in the ground with their feet. Beckford in his "Travels in Europe" mentions sacred Crow fanciers. The Raven was dedicated to Odin, and this God, as described in the traditional history of Iceland, had two attending on him, the one called *Hugin* the other *Mumin*, viz., "Spirit" and "Memory." The Raven long decorated the Danish Standard--and the Icelanders believe that this bird knows what is going on at a distance, and what is to happen and that its appearance sometimes portends death.

(3) Our Author has entirely omitted Ceylon in his narrative, although an Island then perfectly well known in the west--and which, as I have already shewn was the intermediate port for the Arab ships proceeding to China--at a period long antecedent to the time of Mahawangsa. From this it might be deemed a fair inference that the fleet of Mahawangsa did not double Ceylon

The first port touched at *to the eastward* was the "Quolla Changgong" or river of *Pegu* where it enters the sea. Excepting Achin this was of course the first available harbour to the eastward perhaps then existing. Pegu was at that period an independent country. The Burmans conquered Pegu in A. D. 1546 during the visit of Mendez Pinto. Fitch, quoted by Mr. Crawfurd (Mission to Ava p. 501 et seq.) gives a picture of the capital of Pegu from A. D. 1583 to 1591 which appeared to me to be amply confirmed by the remains still extant, and which I had an opportunity of shortly inspecting when forming, as a temporary staff, one of a reconnoitring party detached in front of Lt-Col.

Mallet's force, which was sent to sweep that part of the country during the Burmese war up to old Pegu, in order to ascertain whether the Burmese had a force there likely to act on the rear of the British Army. (1)

The reconnoitring party (2), not experiencing any opposition on arriving opposite the western gate, passed it, guarding against a surprise. A wide area now opened to view partly cultivated with rice and partly lying waste. A small assemblage of humble huts, containing perhaps five or six hundred persons, was all that was left of a once dense population. A melancholy air of desolation pervades this ruined seat of a once flourishing dynasty. The walls form a square of, as well as I could judge by pacing it, about a mile each face. The wall, which seemed to have been formed by two brick walls inclosing earth, was in a very ruinous condition. Its breadth or thickness was 34 feet, and its height 12 feet. The ditch, which is fourteen paces from the base of the wall, was then in a tolerable state of repair--which could hardly have been expected from its age. It was yet lined with the original bricks, and contained a supply of water.

A rough causeway of bricks set on their edges led in a straight line from the gate alluded to, up to the S. front of the great temple of Shui Madu,. Pushing forward we reached the village, and, shortly after, this once proud fane of Buddha. The people, priests included, had fled and in such haste that they left most of their property behind them. But as the troops were

(1) I have described the occurrences in my "Account of Tenasserim" in the Trans. of the R. A. S. 1831 to 1840.

(2) Captains Jones, Briseo, Trant and myself with Europeans soldiers.

kept outside of the walls, nothing was touched. On entering the monastery, chests full of Burman books attracted my attention, but however seductive to an M.S. hunter, they were left to their owners—for we were not warring against Peguans or their spiritual teachers.

The height and aspect of the Pagoda have been well described by Symes and others. It has lost all the gilding which formerly profusely covered it, and has now a pleasingly venerable appearance, while the great Shui Dagaung Temple at Rangoon looks like a gaudy pageant of the passing hour, although really a splendid building of its kind. The troops speedily embarked and reached Rangoon to join in its defence against the Bandoola's or Burmese General's army of 20,000 men, and afterwards in defeating it in three consecutive battles at the flanks and centre of their extended lines. Close to the Dagoba I observed a marble slab with an inscription on it couched in the inflated terms used by Indian Princes of the conquests of Alongphira or Alompra, the subduer of the Peguans. He razed Pegu in A. D. 1757.

In the time of Hamilton A. D. 1709, this capital was in ruins. But there could not have been many substantial buildings within the area of the walls or there would have been ruins of them visible. I greatly suspect that the houses were of wood and frailer materials, as Rangoon houses are at this day, and that the brick warehouses, which were in the old town beyond the walls, were merely small *fire safes*.

Thhruse (1) was, according to Arian, the most remote maritime region towards the east that was known in his time. In all probability

(1) J. A. S. B. for January 1847 p. 27.

it comprehended not only Arracan, but likewise the country designated by Ptolemy the golden Chersonese "which is now generally admitted to be Pegu."

Mr. Crawfurd states that the oldest temples at *Pagan* were of a date from 846 to 864 A. D. (2) The king then reigning was Pyan Bya. If Pagan was founded so early as A. D. 107, as here also stated, and the Buddhist religion was introduced into Ava so early as B. C. 307 as we learn from the *Mahawanso*, how does it happen that none of the numerous ruins of Buddhist temples at this ancient city, where there are, as the above writer tells us, the most interesting and remarkable remains of antiquity in the Burman dominions, itself the seat of Government for twelve centuries have a date anterior to A. D. 846 to 864? But the dynasties in the Burman chronicle up to king Sumindri, at least B. C. 79, would appear to be Indian ones. It is certain that many of the kings named in it belonged to India--thus Ajatasattu, Dhammasokaraja, Mahinda. But the date of the third convocation to settle the Buddhistical tenets, which was held in India at Patilipura, when Dhammasoka reigned, is correctly given in the list, as it corresponds pretty exactly with that assigned to it in the *Mahawanso*, and the same may be said in regard to the date of Mahinda's (Mahindo's) mission to Ceylon the first of these dates being B. C. 309 and the second B. C. 307. The only sacred book of the Burmese priests, Mr. Crawfurd observes, which is written in the Pali character, is the short one called *Kainawa*, commonly found on sheets of

(2) *Journ. Emb.* to Ava p. p. 62-63.

ivory. I have one of the same in my possession in the square Pali.

The only evidences at Pagan of Hinduism, were a small oval tile with a figure of Buddha on it; an inscription in the Deva Nagari character; and a temple with some Hindu images, of a date about A. D. 997 to A. D. 1030. (1) Hence Mr. Crawfurd thinks, that if these were principal images, and not warders of the temple, Brahmanism and Hinduism may have been intermixed, as is suspected to have been the case in Java. (2) Besides this, the form of the temples at Pagan is more a Hindu than a Buddhist one. But such Buddhism as that which existed in Ceylon must have been spread over Ava soon after A. D. 410 to A. D. 432, when Buddha Ghosa left Ceylon on his mission to the eastward. "The Shan country contains many relics of antiquity, which may lead to a supposition that Buddhism prevailed in the Laos countries perhaps earlier than it did in what is now Ava. But it is not stated in what character the *Shan* inscriptions exist."

Prome according to Crawfurd (3) was "the first seat of the Burman Government to which any allusion is made, and is said to have been founded B. C. 433." But as a prince of Rumi, B. C. 301, is called by the Burmese a son of Dhamasanka king of Wethali—the Dhammasoka Raja, who was Emperor of India, and consequently ruler of Wesali, the capital of Waji, the country of the Lichchawi Rajas, (4) it thence appears that the Burmese have confounded

(1) Ib. p. 69.

(2) They co-exist without opposition in Bali at the present day, and appear always to have done so.—ED.

(3) Ib. p. 499 *et seq.*

(4) Mahawanso. Introduction p. 29.

their own kings in many instances with those of Central India. But if the Burmese descended the Irrawady from the north, how does it happen that they settled at first so far down ? This might lead us to suspect that they settled originally in Pegu and Martaban, descending from the Laos countries by the route of the Attaram river to Martaban. The Peguans or Mons assert that the Burmans got their religion from Pegu.

It would seem from Mr. Crawfurd's remark in his embassy to Ava (p. 419) that the Burmese say that in A. D. 386 a Burman priest Buddha *Gautha* or *Ghosa* proceeded to Ceylon, and from thence brought with him a copy of the Buddhist Scriptures. This only serves to caution us against their chronology at the earlier periods of their history : for *Buddha Ghosa* went to Ceylon from *India* not from Ava in about A. D. 410, and then (1) compiled the Buddhist Scriptures and Commentaries which reached Ava afterwards, and exist there now in, I believe, nearly their pristine purity. Tattooing seems originally, observes Mr. Crawfurd, to " have been confined to the Burmans and Thaleins. The nations they have subdued have more or less followed their example, such as the Kayens, the Aracanese and the Shans." But it is only I suspect those Kareans who live near to a Burman population who tattoo themselves ; for, in travelling over the Tenasserim Provinces, I found the Kayen tribes generally to be not tattooed. But Fitch says that the Peguans did not in his time tattoo themselves.

The Siamese most likely dropped the practice, if indeed it had then existed, when they separated

from the Laos, in order to individualize themselves more strongly.

(4) The period of the year was doubtless that of the S. W. monsoon, when small and badly managed vessels are still occasionally lost.

The Scythians, as we learn from Col. Todd's *Rajahstan*, of the north of Europe, were always alert to assist, as they imagined, their gods. When they heard loud thunder they supposed that these gods, were attacked, and they shot their arrows towards the sky to aid the latter. The Grecian and Celtic sailors purchased the charmed arrows of their god Apollo to calm the troubled sea. The Malays too had the superstition amongst them, for in the Malayan Annals (2) it is related that "*Seyyad Arab* discharged "an arrow towards Siam saying, "Chaupan-
-dan the Raja of Siam is a dead man" and
"it fell out accordingly." Now this mode of killing an enemy was then novel to the Malays, and must have been taught them by this Arab, who was a "servant of God." I have for convenience sake used Leyden's Translation of these Annals where it gives the whole of the original, but have reverted to the latter where that is not the case. The *copy* in the Arabic character in my possession, which was purchased from a shop-keeper, seems to have been made about twenty years ago, and to have been in the possession of some English orientalist, as it has marginal annotations, where he thought the sense obscure. He states in a note that "this translation is merely a free rendering of some of the principal incidents it contains. Ibrahim the Moonshee made a copy of the *Salelata Salatin* at Malacca, and took it with him to Bengal,

(2) Translation by Leyden p. 133.

where he was in the service of Dr. Leyden. Ibrahim read the book to the Doctor and explained the meaning to him, and he wrote down what he seems to have considered as worthy of notice. This is the account which Ibrahim gives me. It would indeed be tedious to translate all the prolixity and repetitions of a Malayan author, but this translation is tolerably faithful. There is considerable variation in the Malayan copies." There remarks seem to me quite justifiable.

(5) *The aborigines of Keddah.*—The Girgassi and the Rakshasas are classed together by the Indo-Chinese nations in their tales of Genii and demons. Our Ambassador, it may be recollectcd, had married the daughter of a Rakshasa father and Girgassi mother; hence he is described as being acquainted with the caste of these Keddah Girgassis. The exclusiveness of Asiatic navigators and travellers of ancient times, is often betrayed in the names they give to the aborigines of the countries visited by them. The civilized European sneeringly termed two thirds of the human race—blacks—while he himself had not long before escaped from under the Roman epithet “barbarian.” The natives on the continent of India who had ascended pretty high on the ladder of civilization, found by their own accounts the Island of Ceylon inhabited by Yakkas or demons, so branded by them, who were driven by them into the woods, where their descendants are to be found to this day of British civilization and ascendancy. Then there are the Burmese, Siamese and other Indo-Chinese nations who look upon and treat the various aboriginal tribes whom they have nearly supplanted—such as the Kareans,

Samangs, Bila and others—as beings but little elevated above the orang-utan—while the far more barbarous tribes of the Archipelago behold in the same light the Harafuras and other races who have been driven by them into the fastnesses of the Islands.

Yet *many* of these expelled races have fairer complexions, and as good proportions of body as their tyrants—and have better claims to antiquity, if they be not the remnants of a far anterior civilization shattered by time and superior force.

Our author only observes in this place when alluding to the external appearance of these *Girgas*, that they were “very large men”—but he elsewhere tells us, that they had, like the Rakshasas—hideous tushes—a belief still prevalent amongst the Malays of Keddah; although they are now Mahomedans. But our author is further on obliged to confess that Marong Mahawangsa’s descendants intermarried with these aborigines—for such they seem to have been. This tribe or people seems to have belonged to the Siamese race—and it is probable that the portion of the present population of Keddah called Samsam is derived from that tribe. The Samsam use as their native tongue the Siamese language—follow Siamese customs, and are, excepting where not converted to Islamism, Buddhists. They seem to have mixed with the colonists from the west, and approximate now more in stature and colour to the Malay, than to the true Siamese. Many families of Samsams are living under British rule in Province Wellesley and prove to be a quiet and, as compared with Malays, an industrious people. They have orchards and rice fields—and they

hunt the deer and wild hog for food, with dogs, using nets and spears. These dogs are small but active and bold creatures.

They generally bring the boar to bay, when the hunters kill him with their spears. But I have seen both men and dogs very badly wounded during such an encounter.

That the Sirgassi were Siamese, or cognate to them, appears probable also from the names, according to our author, of some of their chiefs. Such are Phra Chibon,—Nang, Suttaman—Parap—Nang Meri. These names I believe have been derived from the Pali—a language to which the Siamese have been indebted for most, if not all, of their words applied to religion, politics, law, learning and science, and proving their rude condition when that language was introduced amongst them.

I may here notice that in the *Katha Wongsa*, a Bali work, which I procured from the Siamese, Buddha is said to have commenced his wanderings by proceeding from India to Ceylon or Lanka Singhon as the Siamese term the latter, the Bali Singhala or Sihala Thippe (Dwip), in order to expel— it should I apprehend have been “to teach,”—the Yakshas who held dominion there. This *expulsion* was not in accordance with the humane disposition of Buddha, unless he really believed them to be evil spirits or demons, and he ought to have known the contrary if he possessed the prescience attributed to him by his followers. In the *Mahawanso* [1] the Buddhists have tried to make the act appear a humane one—by assuring us that the Yakkhos were demons, or rather that

[1] Turnour's Transl: of *Mahawanso* v. 1 c. 1 p. 3rd & do. c. VII p. 48.

the inhabitants of Lanka were Yakkhos (or demons). Buddha "caused the delightful Isle of Giri to approach for them and as soon as they had transferred themselves thereto [to escape the conflagration he had raised] he restored it to its former position." But the Yakkhos and Yakkhini appear from the seventh chapter of the Mahawanso to have fully occupied the Island after Buddha had gone back to India. Mr. Turnour remarks on his subject [1] "It would appear that the prevailing religion¹ at that period (the arrival of Vijayo) was the demon or Yakkha worship. Buddhists have therefore thought proper to represent that the inhabitants (of Ceylon) were Yakkhos, or demons themselves, and possessed supernatural powers."

The descendants of these Yakkhos were looked upon by the Candians as little better than evil spirits—and in this outcast and degraded condition they might ever have remained, had not British rule succeeded to the ruthless despotism of the Rajas of Candy. In the Mahawanso it is stated that there was a Sovereign of the Yakkhos.

These Girgassi of Srai are stated to have had no Raja, but only Panghulus or chiefs over them. But by whom these were appointed is not mentioned. It is fair therefore to infer that a higher than a popular authority created the office—and that the seat of power lay in the direction of Siam. (2)

[1] *Introduction* to Mahawanso v. 1 p. XLV. 1

(2) In Sumatra, the Peninsula (amongst the Binua), Borneo, Celebes, &c., we find so many examples of a strong tendency to republican principles, that there is much reason to think that the earliest institutions of the

The Girgassi or natives, by the account of our author, invited Marong Mahawansa to become their chief. But their "astonishment at seeing him," is at variance with the inferences which plainly occur to us after reading, that his Malim knew the names of the bay and the Islands—that he himself knew the caste of the Girgassi, and conversed with them—if not in their own language, still it must be supposed in one which had been established as a common medium of intercourse betwixt the people of the west and east or of India and the Indo-Chinese countries. The precipitancy with which Mahawangsa settled and fortified himself might induce one to believe that he had sailed for this port with the intention to colonize the country *per fas aut nefas*, but altered his designs when left with one ship only.

The narrative is equally circumstantial regarding his return long afterwards to Rumi. So these colonists were most probably, as I have already conjectured, natives of India. I have not yet been able to positively identify the site of Langkasuka. The quarter where I may hereafter be able to find its ruins, is clothed with dense jungle and is impeded by deep swamps and ravines or water courses. I have traversed on foot, as usual where neither elephants nor horses can be used, parts of this tract, and the outlines satisfy me of the statistical fidelity of our author. I hope yet to discover the spot. If the ruins were of any considerable magnitude however they would have been doubtless more easily discovered. I believe

Archipelago were highly republican. There are several Malayan states at present in Sumatra and the Peninsula, the highest functionaries in which are Panghulus.—ED.

the village of Cuboh Balei to be close to the site of the original Town—But as that was abandoned after a while, it is probable the buildings were merely temporary.

Langkasuka means in Sanskrit the delightful, or joy inspiring Lanka—and suka, has been borrowed from that language by the Malays to express joy, gladness, &c. If the origin of Mahawangsa was to be predicated from this Sanskrit appellative, we should be compelled to consider him as having been a native of India. The Siamese, to whom Keddah belongs, designate it, as of old, Muang Srai or Chrai, which so far corroborates our author's account. It is pretty obvious that such was the name of the Keddah mountain if not of the country when Mahawangsa is reported to have arrived, and I suspect his may not have been the first immigration from the west, while fresh accessions of Indians may have from time to time arrived after the colony became settled. The list of wild animals or game here given applies well to the locality at the present day, although it is more contracted than it might have been; for close along the base of the mountain Sree or Srai, now called by the Malays *Gunong Jerei*, but by the Siamese *K'hau Srai*, and in the surrounding forests, are to be found also, the elephant, various species of the feline tribe from the leopard cat up to the leopard and royal tiger, two kinds of the rhinoceros, the larger of which inhabits the plains, and the smaller the mountain, as I ascertained while ascending it, the Srigala or small dark brown wild dog, two species of the Bovine genus, which I have called Bisons, one being a very powerful animal and fierce. I have never seen one of thees

Srigala alive, although I have travelled for a month at a time through the deep forests of the Peninsula, but I saw a preserved one in the collection of my scientific friend Dr. Cantor, who has doubtless already described it. There is also the wild goat or sheep called Kambing Gurun or "wild goat" by the Malays. No description that I am aware of has yet been given of this animal, so that its precise zoological position has not been ascertained. Its habitat is on the inaccessible peaks and cliffs of the mountains, and especially the crags and peaks of the limestone formation, and it is a very difficult thing to catch or kill one. They are found generally beyond the range of fire-arms, and are very wary. I got a couple of horns and part of the skeleton [not the head] of one which had fallen from a precipice, and been killed, insufficient I apprehend to enable a naturalist to identify the species. The horns were about six or seven inches long, a little curved and of a blackish colour. I observed one of these animals far above my head standing on the point of the perpendicular limestone of *Khau Wong* near the frontier of Patani. It was of a dark colour, and appeared shaggy at the distance from which I viewed it. But it was too far off for a shot even from a Manton.

[CHAPTER II.]

THE Prince of Rum, it is further narrated, who was clinging to a plank, was tossed about by the winds and waves without a morsel of food to eat, or water to drink. His body became emaciated, and was covered with barnacles and shell-fish—till at length, feeble and exhausted, he was cast by the surf into the crevice of a rock on the shore of the island Langkapuri. He had nearly lost his voice, through the perils he had endured. Now it happened, one day, that Gilda had left the Island—in search of food, and the Princess of China accompanied by her foster-mother, and attendant, had gone to the sea beach to search for crabs and shell-fish. Presently her Ladyship heard some one groaning—and told her attendants to go and see who it could be. They accordingly went on the search, and soon met with a man whose features they did not recognize—nor indeed could they see them, since he was glistening with the shell-fish which had fastened on his person from his feet to his eyes. The foster-mother reported this to the Princess, observing that she was afraid to go near to the creature, not knowing whether it might not turn to be a demon, or a

Jin, instead of a manus or human being. The Princess smiled at this fearful narrative—but bade the narrator return to the spot and correctly ascertain who, or what the creature was. She did as directed—and the Prince of Rum answered her questions by acquainting her with name, and late disasters, and with the object of his voyage to China. She could not help laughing when she again reported the result of her enquiries. The Princess ordered her instantly to go to the Prince and remove him to a place of concealment—so that Girda might not find, kill and eat him, adding “have a care and give the Prince only gruel at first for his food—and let him be washed free from all the barnacles and shell-fish with gruel also, lest he should die.”

So the Prince was *carried*, agreeably to the desire of the Princess, by her two attendants who concealed him in a cave, where there was plenty of small stones to cover its entrance. They performed for him the requisite ablutions, as he was too weak himself—and scraped off the shell-fish from his person. The Princess sent also by the hands of her attendants a dress for the Prince.

All this having been finished, they shut up the entrance to the cave, as it was the time when Girda was accoustomed to return home. So whenever he was from home the door of the cave was opened and these two attendants served the Prince diligently—by which attentions he very soon regained his former strength and beauty, only he had no wardrobe. The attendants therefore reported the favourable change to their mistress, expressed their belief that he indeed was the Prince of Rum, as his actions and speech bespoke royalty, and were superior

to those of the Princes of China and other countries, but, said they, it is distressing to see him destitute of befitting dress. 'Never mind, said her Highness, I will speak to Girda.' She then addressed Girda in these terms. 'O my Bird, Lord Girda, why has your lordship brought us to this place to suffer hardships, and privations. It is true that you supply us with food, but behold our wardrobe—I pray your lordship to go and bring our clothes from China.'

Girda laughing at this request, replied in a voice of thunder from the clouds 'My grand child! I have no wish to distress you three, I am only waiting until I shall have performod the promise which I have made to the holy Prophet Suliman. It will not be long before your grand-father restores his grand-child to her mother in China. I pray you to tell me where your wardrobe lies that I may bring it.' The Princess having informed him where it was, Girda sped away through the air, saying to the Princess that he would be happy to serve her even were the task much more difficult. When he reached China he rested for a while on a mountain, and then directing his flight to the palace of the King, he darkened the air, and sent before him a storm of rain, wind, thunder and lightning—and a whirlwind which is called *tufan jin*—so that the ears of all were stunned.

It happened that at this moment His Majesty was seated in his splendid audience hall, surrounded by all his officers of state, for the purpose of hearing a letter read which Ambassadors had just brought from the Raja of Run to inquire what had become of the Prince—but the storm raged so furiously that no one could be

heard, and all the assembly dispersed to take care of themselves. The hubbub was great, and the seventeen apartments of that royal hall rocked to and fro—and all the inhabitants of the Palace, being confounded by the horrid din and tumult, escaped from it, dispersing in all directions and leaving it empty.

Girda seeing his way cleared, descended amidst the uproar, and breaking open a side of the palace wall, took out the chest of the Princess—which he knew by the description she had given of it, namely, that it was in a room, the walls of which were encased in mirrors, that it was large, that the joinings were formed of ivory, and that it was adorned with yakub or precious stones. Girda delivered the chest safely to the Princess, who joyfully opened it with the key which she had on her person, and perceived that her wardrobe was perfect. So Girda left her and betook himself for rest to the highest precipice of the Island. But when he had descended, and gone in search of provisions, the Princess took out of the chest a golden suit of clothes called pitarana such as Rajas wear, and sent them along with provisions to the Prince, who was very grateful for the gift. After six or seven days and when Girda was absent in search of food, the Runi Prince was brought before the Princess by her attendants. She no sooner saw him than she hid her blushing cheeks; while the heart of the Raja was smitten, and he lay prostrate before her. Thus they both became enamoured of each other.

When Girda retired at night to rest, the two lovers met in presence of the lady's attendants, embraced and wept. In this manner some time passed away; but all these things were

unknow to Girda—who at last grew impatient and signified to the Princess his intention of paying his respects to the Prophet of God, Suliman. On reaching the presence, the Prophet inquired what news he had brought, and if his scheme of frustrating the marriage had succeeded or not. Girda answered that it had, describing all his proceedings. Suliman then asked if a son of the Sultan of Rum had been seen sailing towards China to get married. Yes, rejoined Girda—and here he related the fate of the Prince and the destruction of his fleet, not even excepting Mahawangsa's vessel, by his own power alone. Suliman when he heard these vaunting expressions smiled and laughed, and turning towards his courtiers they also followed his example ; for they saw the Girda had no reliance on the power of God. 'Very well, said his Majesty to Girda, if the Prince shall be found to be alive what will you say ? or should he be found to have met the Princess of China ?' On this Girda, making obeisance, assured his Majesty the Prophet that he would still in either of such events adhere to the agreement he had made with him as before herein described—for how can I, said he, dare to swerve from a promise made to the Prophet of God ? His Majesty now addressed the Jin King whose name is *Hurmanshah*. 'Let my Master take an hundred of his mantri or ministers and bring now before me the Prince of Rum and the Princess of China, with her attendants.' The demon king did as required. When he had made known his mission to the four prisoners at Lankapuri, they speedily put all their effects into the chest, and then entering it themselves they locked the lid *inside* and were thus before

long carried by Hurmanshah and his mantris into the presence of Suliman—where Girda also was waiting to see the result. His Majesty then called upon the four in the chest to come forth. So they stood before the Prophet and made obeisance. 'Tell me O Girda,' said the Prophet, 'who these persons are?' But Girda spoke not a word, for he was now under the influence of unwonted terror, his body was convulsed, and his joints trembled, while shame contributed to complete his defeat—since it was witnessed by mighty Rajas and crowned potentates.

The Prophet now spoke in the following terms:—'O ye Rajas and Mantris my subjects, who are men of family and repute, it is proper that we should know by the God who made us and all created beings,—that there are four uncertainties in the world. *First*—Created beings cannot be sure of their daily or nightly food, or whether it shall be got in a small or in a large quantity—for such depends upon the appointed time. *Secondly*—Calamity and death cannot certainly be foreseen by any created being. Be not certain of your continuance in this world—for evil and death, and the place where death shall overtake us, are appointed to all. *Thirdly*—Whichever amongst the multitudes of the human race, framed by the hand of God, a pair has been joined (in marriage) they can only be separated by God at his appointed time. *Fourthly*—To look for that to-morrow, which should or was to happen to-day is useless, for the time appointed by God has passed.'—The Rajas and Mantris humbly thanked the Prophet for his instruction, and Garuda begged pardon for his offences, and asked leave to de-

part, saying 'I am going beyond the sky, and the abodes of men, but will gratefully remember your Majesty wherever I may go.' 'Well inquired the Prophet, what is your wish regarding the Prince and Princess?' 'O Suliman, replied Girda, I give them up to you, for you know best what should be done.' 'Well, observed Suliman, since this is your reply, depart thou, and go thou out from hence this very day, far away from the land where mankind dwell, and stay thou in the sea called Kulzoom (a Port on the red sea) [m] which lies far beyond the haunts of men.' Girda departed and obeyed the Prophet's command.

Suliman now directed one of his ministers to indite a letter in the Chinese language to be sent to the Emperor of China to inform him of all these proceedings of Girda towards the Prince of Rum, and he then asked the Prince if he had been escorted by any chief enjoying the confidence of the Raja of Rum. The Prince hereupon acquainted king Suliman with the name of Marong Mahawangsa, and where he might probably be found, if still alive. One of the ministers present, named *Dewa*, here informed his Majesty that Marong Mahawangsa was residing on the *continent* opposite to *Pulo Srai*, waiting to try and gain tidings respecting the fate of the Prince. Accordingly the King directed this piece of intelligence to be inserted in the letter—which after *having read* he approved of. It was also requested in the letter that Marong Mahawangsa should be directed to return home as if directed by the Raja of Rum.

[m] The Kulzoom of Dr. A. Sprenger J. A. S. B. 1844 p. 519.

Then addressing the king of the Jin, his Majesty said, 'Let my master take with him one thousand armies of Jins, and convey the Prince and Princess and the two attendants, with this chest, to China, and pray see that the royal pair be married according to all usual courtly formalities and customs. Moreover you are to request the Emperor of China to address a letter to the Raja of Rum acquainting him with these events.'

The Prince and Princess having made obeisance to Suliman as did the four attendants, they entered the chest and locked it inside as before. Hurmanshah then directed his warriors to take up the chest—which having done, they followed him through the air towards China, escorted by the host of jins.

It so happened, that at this time the Emperor of China was assembled with all his state officers in his hall of audience in order to consult regarding the disappearance of the Princess, and the Prince and the ambassadors too from Rum had not yet departed, as they were waiting to learn the result of the search. While the King was thus holding his Court, on a sudden Raja Hurmanshah appeared at the front of the hall of audience, and his followers formed a line from the spot all the way to the gate of the fort.

When the Mangkobumi, or Prime Minister of the Emperor, beheld him and his host of jins, he arose, and taking another chief with him, he went out and thus accosted Hurmanshah "Who are you my Lord, and who are all these along with you who thus appear so suddenly in front of the audience chamber?"

'I have come, said Hurmanshah, as the bearer of a letter from my Raja, who is Lord over all

the created beings of this earth, the Prophet Suliman—to his Majesty the Emperor your master.' The Vizier and the other courtiers on hearing this reply, took each a hold of one of Hurmanshah's hands and led him forthwith into the presence. When the Emperor saw them approach he rose and paid him respectful homage—at the same time he was amazed at seeing the strangers place a large chest before him. 'I pray you to sit down,' said His Majesty addressing Hurmanshah. The latter now produced and delivered his letter which the Emperor raised over his head, kissed, and then delivered into the hands of the Prime Minister, who after having raised it in like manner over his head, and having done honour to it by a thousand marks of respect, stood up, opened and read it (aloud). It ran thus :—

" This letter is addressed and sent by the Prophet of God Suliman to the Raja of the country of China, in order that my Lord may be made aware of the actions of the bird Girda, his behaviour to your daughter, and also to your son-in-law the Prince of Rum, and also to acquaint my Lord with the terrible loss in ships, men and goods, which has been sustained by the Raja of Rum from the evil acts of this Girda, and this too when the Raja was sending his son to form an alliance by marriage with your Majesty's daughter. I have luckily met with these two young people at once, and therefore hasten to send them to your Majesty in charge of my obedient minister and servant, Raja Hurmanshah. I pray my lord to properly arrange every thing expeditiously, and in a manner befitting the rank of mighty rulers. I request also that my lord will despatch a letter to the

Raja of Rum to bid him send and collect the [scattered remnants of the] fleet, and the chiefs and men above alluded to. In the chest are the Prince and Princess, and two attendants, who I pray you to receive from me. All this your humble servant reports."

When the letter had been thus read, there was a shaking of hands and all resumed their seats. The Emperor said to Hurmanshah 'I pray you my lord and brother to refresh yourself with this betel leaf, and pray will your highness now order the chest to be opened.' When the Princess heard the voice of her father she quickly opened the chest, and came out of it along with her three companions. His Majesty embraced and kissed his daughter, and joyfully shook hands with the Prince of Rum, after which he led the latter by the hand and placed him close to his right hand. He also directed the chest to be removed to the palace. 'But where, exclaimed his Majesty is the Ambassador of Rum?' The latter soon made his appearance when the king asked.—'Is this your Master?'—pointing to the Prince. The former replied, 'yes your Majesty, it was he who sailed for China with so many hundreds of vessels which were lost with all in them, thousands in number. I have been staying *three years* here in China in the hope of gaining intelligence of you, my liege'—addressing the Prince of Rum. 'Oh *Shahbandara*, rejoined the Prince, your lordship has done me a great kindness. But if I had not fortunately met with the Prophet Suliman, who knows where I might have died.' Hurmanshah now got leave to depart, and after him the Shabundara bearing a letter took his leave.

The Emperor next ordered letters to be despatched to the Rajas of all the countries subject to China, directing them to forward to court supplies of provisions of all kinds, and complimentary gifts [or hadiya.] When every thing was ready the nuptials were solemnized with the pomp and circumstance usual with mighty Princes. (n) [6]

NOTES.

[6] I cannot help believing that the preceding description, however it may be dressed up in the garb of fiction, had some facts for its foundation. But I suspect that our author was not well read in the customs of China when he wrote—and that he borrowed some traits and manners from those prevailing at Malayan courts. Thus, amongst other things, he makes the Emperor an eater of *betel leaf*, a luxury which Chinese, notwithstanding all their very strange dietetical fancies, do not seem to have ever approved of.

Respecting the wall in the palace of China which was covered with mirrors, it may be remarked that they were probably brought from the west, although the Chinese doubtless made inferior kinds to those of that portion of the world. The Malays who were never a manufacturing people—at least as to the article of glass, were provided with mirrors long before the arrival of Europeans to trade to the eastward. In the Malayan Annals we find it stated—"As for Tuan Hassen he had

(n) That the marriage noticed by Marco Polo was the only one of the kind can scarcely be supposed. So long as the Chinese Mahometan Emperors, regarded with reverential or friendly feelings the potentates of the same faith in the west, for so long would they seek to ally themselves with these by Marriages.

a mirror as large as himself standing "upright, and he dressed himself by it"—and the palace of the Raja of Malacea "had a peak of red glass, and leaden conduits." [1] Coloured glass probably came from India, since Fa Hian so far back as A. D. 400 mentions it, and glass pinnacles to temples were introduced into Ceylon during the reign of Sangatissa. A. D. 234. [2] It seems to have been first made in Egypt. I have found it amongst the ruins of temples in province Wellesley and Keddah of the following colours,—nearly black, blue, reddish, violet, green, yellow.

The name of *Dewa* or *Deva* occurs as one of Solomon's ministers. It is a Hindu or Indian appellative, being so far in keeping with other names contained in our text. But it is a word also derived in India from a western language—and we should not overlook the fact that previous to their conversion to Islamism the Arabs were idolaters, and the Persians also, these last being at one time as it is supposed Buddhists.

The Ambassador was the Shahbandara of Rum, a *Persian title* for the officer of state who superintends a port. From the sequel it seems not improbable that he reached China by land—that is if such a person did arrive there at all. The story of the chest might possibly bear some allusion to a caravan.

The introduction amongst the nations of the west, first of Christianity and afterwards of Islamism, had altered considerably the communications betwixt that quarter of the globe and the regions of Eastern Asia. So long as Western Asia held fast to its idolatries, a ready

[1] Leyden's Translation p. 271.

[2] Mahawanso.

door was opened to it towards all the more eastern religions, and probably an intercourse had existed far anterior to any dates now extant. The following are some of the dates most apposite to the subject of the ancient intercourse betwixt the Chinese and the people of the West:

	B.C.	A.D.
betwixt India and China from the year (1)	1 to	
Confirmed by Pliny from A. D. I to 44.....	1000	
China sent an Expedition to the Caspian	97	
No mention is made of the intercourse betwixt China and India until (2)	126	B. C.
Buddhism was conveyed to China via Palibothra route in (3)	65	
Brahman merchants traded personally with China proceeding there to the City of Nankin, in vessels having crews of two hundred men at least and touching on the way at Java in (4)	414	
Chinese Embassy to the Scythians ...	122	
Du Guines says that the King of Scientso or India sent presents to the Emperor of China <i>by sea</i> about the year	159 to 161	
The King of Kapila sent Ambassadors to China the chief of whom was a Buddhist in (5) ...	428 466 408	

[1] Du Guines and Marshman.

[2] As Res. IX p. 40.

[3] Wilford A. R. v. 11 p. 81 et seq.

[4] Fa Hien.

[5] Wilford A. R. v. IX p. 44 & 297.

Again the King of the Pali or of Magadha sent an Embassy	473
King of Kapila A. D. 466 and Kandahar (1)	455
Embassies were sent from Oodiana to China in the following consecutive periods (2)	502 510
Likewise from the Kingdom of Soom A. D. 441 and of Ghandara both in India A.D. 455 ...	511 516
Magadha A.D. 642 [M. Landresse —No. XII J. R. A. S. p. 346 ...	518 521
Cosmas Indicopleustes, says that Ceylon was the emporium of the trade betwixt China and the Gulf of Arabia and Persia in ...	522 547
Another Embassy from Oodiana or else Magadha or Behar	642
Ambassadors from Southern India informed King Senan Woo of China that India then carried on a trade with the Roman empire and Syria (3)	500 to 516
Arabs traded briskly betwixt Omar in the Persian Gulf and China from (4)	450 to 850
Chinese Embassy to Magadha	648
Arabs traded to China and the Eastern Islands in (5)	900
Sykes says that China did not get this name until	260

[1] Lt. Col. Sykes quoting Chinese authorities opened by M. Landresse and other French writers.

[2] Chinese records Wan Hin and Thi-ung Kaou M. Landresse.

[3] Mahawanso by Turnour.

[4] Crawfurd.

[5] Crawfurd Archipelago v, III,

Chin was the name given to China by the Persians and Arabs and also by the people of the Indian Archipelago. (1) It appears from the Mahawanso that the name China was not imposed until about—B. C.	206
It is stated by Sir W. Jones somewhere in the Asiatic Researches that the Chinas wear a caste of Hindoos, (Buddhists rather) who separated themselves from the Indians and proceeded to China.	
An Embassy from Outchang or Oudiyara to China	502
Crawfurd observes that Dhurma fled from India to China taking Buddhists books with him in (2) ...	519
And that that religion reached Cochin-china in.....	540
Some imagine that Bactria was their native country (3)	
Magadha sends an Embassy to China	647
Chinese Emperor sends one to Patana } to	650
The five Indias sent Ambassadors to China in.....	683
	667

According to Remusat the travels of the Chinese *Lao-tseu* show that he travelled to the west B. C. 600.

A Buddhist missionary reached China from the west in B. C. 217. But the *official or state adoption* of the religion did not take place until A. D. 58—and many priests of that faith ar-

[1] Chinese author Ma Twan Lin.

[2] Crawfurd Mission to Siam.

[3] Lt. Col. Sykes No. XII J. R. A. S. p. 304.

rived from Bokhara from the country of the Getes and from Hindustan to form establishments, and they preached their doctrines and taught the languages of India (1).

Fa Hian already quoted as the Chinese priest who travelled to India, by land, and returned via Ceylon, had crossed the Chinese frontier in A. D. 399. He touched at Java A. D. 414.

When Fa Hian returned to China the vessel had 200 men on board or was capable of accommodating that number.

Some light might be thrown upon the different forms assumed by the Pali character during the periods where the Chinese Buddhist Missionary Travellers Fa Hian, Hiu-an Shsang, and Soung Young respectively visited India, should copies of some of the many Pali works which they carried back to China be still extant in the latter country.

Cosmas Indicopleustes states that in his time between A. D. 522 and A. D. 547 Ceylon was the emporium for trade between China and the Persian and Arabian gulfs.

The Chinas were one of the [2] tribes which according to Menu had lost caste and sunk to the lowest grade, and were called in Sanskrit Chin. Klaproth says that *Tsin* is the name of the Dynasty which reigned over China B. C. 249 to 202. But Menu is believed to have written about A. D. 500 and the various castes he describes are supposed to have been Buddhists.

[1] Lt. Col. Sykes No. XII Do. Do. Art. XIV.
J. R. A. S.

[2] J. R. A. S. No. XIII p. 393.

In the *Nouv. Mélanges Asiatiques* Tom 1 p. 796 quoted by Lt.-Col. Sykes, the following dates occur besides those already noted :

There is a *tradition* that the emperor Ming Se A. D. 58 to 76 sent ambassadors to India to inquire about Buddha: the consequence was that Buddhism began to prevail in China A. D. 147 to 167.

An embassy under the Woo Dynasty passed through Burma and coasted India A. D. 222 to 280. Chinese travellers found the kingdom of the Brahmins to lie in the Punjab A. D. 648.

A. D. 713 to 742 an ambassador arrived from central India and one from northern India. In A. D. 953 priests of Buddha from western India reached China, bearing tribute, horses amongst other things. A Chinese Buddhist priest returned with books from India having resided there twelve years. It appears that the missions to and from China went and came by land.

Mr. Taylor questions the appellation of Chin or Chinas as having been bestowed on China, owing to outcasts reaching it from India [1] Mala Chin, or Shensi seems to have been the proper region of China. Chin can be no other than the eastern part of the valley of Assain.

	B.C.	A.D.
The Scythians invaded and conquered Afghanistan in	200 to	
[2]	250	
Held possession till ...		300
And also of other parts of India till		500

[1] J. A. S. B. Jany. 1847 p 27 et Seq.

[2] Lt. Col. Sykes J. R. A. S. No. XII.

These Scythians were Buddhists.

But if the Malayan Annals are to be trusted the Emperors of China did not permit a difference in religious belief to oppose any matrimonial alliance which they had in view for themselves or families.

Sultan Mansurshah the Mahometan Raja or Ruler of Malacca had sent a mission to China in return for one despatched to him by the Emperor. The latter asked the Malacca Envoys if they could persuade the Sultan to pay him a visit in order that he might bestow his daughter *Hong Lipo* upon him in marriage. As the envoys replied that it would be impossible for the Sultan to come so far, the Emperor sent this Princess with a large retinue to Malacca. Before the marriage took place the Sultan directed that Hong Lipo and all the daughters of the Chinese mantris who accompanied her should be converted to Islamism.

The then Emperor was consequently a pagan. Hence too he had at his meals fifteen gantangs [1] of husked rice—one *hog* and a tub of *hogs lard* [2]. It is probable however that this Princess was the daughter of one of his handmaids, and if true at all it would evince that women then could leave China (a).

The wife of the last Buddhist King of Java in about A. D. 1478 was a Chinese [3]. In the same annals it is related that the Raja of China sent to Paralembang—[Paralembangan or Palembang] or *Andalas*, ten prahus or vessels with a request that *Sangsopurbla* [the

[1] A gantang is nearly equal to 1½ gallon.

[2] Mal. An. by Leyden p. 17.

(a) Vide Jour. Ind. Arch. v. 2. p. 611.—ED.

[3] Crawfurd's Archipelago vol. 3.

Hindoo Raja of that place in Sumatra] would grant him his daughter in marriage—along with the letter were 100 male and 100 female slaves. Malayan women, at the present day frequently marry Chinese and without the formality even of abjuring their religion. As Chinese women are very scarce out of China the converse but very rarely happens.

It does not appear that a vessel was despatched at this period to *Pulo Percha*. This is the name still applied, by the people to the eastward, to the Island of *Sumatra*. Percha is the Persian pachah signifying a piece or robe, but in the Malayan it properly means a remnant or piece of cloth, rag, or tatter, both of which etymons however throwing no light on the subject. The Arabs probably from some fancy of their own give the Island this name. There is a large tree which grows in the Straits and probably also in Sumatra named pokok percha, from which is procured the gum or *gutta percha* lately introduced into commerce. Marsden does not seem to have heard of the word as thus applied in the latter instance. He says *Indulas* was a name of that Island Allusion is made to this Island further on.

CHAPTER III.

It has been, says our author, already related how Raja Marong Mahawangsa formed a settlement or *new country* to the east of Pulo Srai, in order that he might either gain information respecting the Prince of Rum, or get a letter from thence. He had already been here so long that a son was born to him of surpassing beauty and proportions, quite ravishing to all beholders. The country too became daily and yearly more populous, owing to the influx of settlers; while trade with all the [surrounding] nations constantly increased. One day Raja Mahawangsa was seated in his audience hall at Lankasuka, surrounded by all his officers of state, including the four very old ministers. The Raja asked of these four old courtiers if there was any powerful country lying near at hand, for, observed his highness, if there be such a country, and should its king have a disposable daughter, my son may solicit an alliance with her. The four ministers replied thus—There is no country of any note situated near to your majesty's domain. But there is a country called Acheh on the sea coast of the island of *Percha*. It is divided into many provinces. But it lies a good way off, or about twenty-five days sailing from this port. There is also another country situated on the same continent where we are settled. The name of its Raja is Kalangi. It lies too in the line of

the voyage which brought us here. It is about one month's sailing hence to that country, which contains many rare productions, such for example, as huge vases, and small jars, and the large tree called mallau tahi se-moot (1) besides many other kinds of wood of great girth. The river also which flows through that country is broad, and comes from a great distance. Well, observed his highness, if such be the case, it will be best that I should address a letter to the Raja Kalangi, requesting that he may send to me a jar of the largest dimensions now procurable. Afterwards having thus (by delay) had an opportunity of gaining information respecting his country and children, we can act accordingly. It will also be proper to write to the Raja with the fullest expressions of our friendship, and our desire to form a cordial alliance with him, acquainting him that I have settled a new country here, and that I hope he will favour me with samples of all the products of the region which he governs.

The ministers prepared two *prahus*, and loaded them with such goods and merchandize as the place afforded. Then two of them having been appointed joint envoys, they embarked, one in each of the two *prahus*—and sailed up the coast. When they had reached the *kwalla* or embouchure of the *country of Kalangi*—they observed a large *three-masted vessel* at anchor there—and they passed up and immediately proceeded to present themselves to the Raja. The latter happened then to be sitting in state with all his courtiers and officers about him, hearing read a letter which had arrived by the

(1) The tree which yields the sticklac of commerce, the Sanscrit *Laksha*.

ship from the Raja of Rum, who in it requested to know where Marong Mahawangsa was to be found.

The Raja Kalangi had the letter brought by these Keddah ministers also opened and read. When the ambassadors from Rum heard Mahawangsa's name which was in the letter—they looked at the envoys, and recognized them—saying at the same time—have you forgotten us, my lord? They turned round and also recognizing their countrymen instantly replied in the negative—inquiring at the same time when the other party had arrived. We arrived here only three or four days ago, they replied, and we touched at all the countries [on our way] in order to get intelligence of your Raja. Since such has been your lordship's object, rejoined the Srai envoys, we propose that you shall accompany us to that new settlement, and wait there until we can learn tidings of the Prince.—You mistake a little, said the ambassadors from Rum ; we have come with the double intention of seeking for your Raja and our young Prince ; the latter, as we have learned, is living now in China by himself. Well, said the envoys, we pray you to wait until we have fulfilled at this place the wishes of our Raja. So they went to the Raja Kalangi, who inquired of them if there were many very *large men* in their master's country, yes, they replied, there are such men in the tribe of Girkassi. Oh then, observed his highness, if this is the case, there is a vase here which exceeds in size that of any other, an heirloom of mine, I give this vase to your master. So the vase was conveyed by a large body of men, and put on board the ship, which had come from Rum, as the envoys

prahus held only light goods. This superb vase or jar was the handiwork of a Girgassi of old who lived in and belonged to that hand. Its height was reckoned that of twenty steps of a ladder. Supposing the ladder to stand at the usual angle, the height perpendicularly may have been about 10 or 12 ft.

Soon after this vase had been so shipped, the Raja Kalangi addressed a letter in reply to Raja Mahawangsa expressing his desire to be on the most amicable terms with him; pray acquaint your Raja with my hope that he will instruct his people to keep up a constant intercourse with my kingdom, and that this may subsist to our posterity. The two parties of envoys then took their leave and embarking in the vessel which had brought the envoys from Rum—and sending the prahus close along the shore, they all set sail and reached Lankasuka. The vessels here anchored in *deep water*.

The ambassadors having all gone to pay their respects to Mahawangsa, they found him seated amidst his chiefs, his royal son being also present, in order to learn what ship it was which had just anchored. On the envoys whom he had sent to *Ava* entering the presence along with those from Rum, the Raja quickly welcomed the latter, and inquired how it happened that they had arrived along with his ministers. They laughing informed his majesty how they had so unexpectedly met their brothers the other envoys at the mouth of the river of the *country of Kalangi*, where they had presented themselves at the Court of Raja Kalangi, the Raja of the country of *Ava*.—Your slaves have been despatched by the Sultan of Rum to convey your highness home; since his majesty

has been duly apprized by the Emperor of China, that the Prince of Run has married his, the Emperor's, daughter. Here is the letter given to us for your highness by the Sultan of Run to the same effect. Mahawangsa himself read the letter, and laughingly replied. I am overjoyed, and will gladly return to the Sultan, but I request my brothers to wait until I shall have made over and abdicated with every proper formality, my government to my son, for I have perseveringly *reclaimed large tracks of land from the sea*. Ever since I had a son born to me here, and since I first formed this settlement, the extent of dry land has been prodigiously increasing. True your highness, the envoys rejoined, it is most proper that your beloved son should be made the Raja of this country, for, in the apprehension at least of your servants, unless the Raja to be set over it, be of the same race as your highness, he will not be able to hold the government. His highness assented to this opinion [1]. He then directed his ministers to go and look at the vessel which had long ago conveyed him there, and which had been propped up by beams of the tree called *siddem*, as it would have to be brought down. The mantris walked away, and when they came to the vessel, they found that it was resting on dry land, and that it was hemmed in by the large forest trees which had sprung up there. The Raja on hearing the chiefs report these circumstances laughed, and observed, So it is! Here have I been staying so long expecting intelligence of the Prince of Run and establishing this country. Here have I had a son born to

(1) Why and wherefore, we are not informed.

me and here has the sea become dry land. Never mind, your highness, said the Rumi envoys, if it cannot be of use as a conveyance for your highness on the voyage to Rum, there is our ship ready for the purpose, to which advice the latter assented. After refreshments the envoys from Rum went on board their vessel.

The Raja retired with his son to the palace, and gave orders that all should be prepared for his installation. What multitudes of animals and game were then slain for the festival, and what various sorts of musical instruments were put into requisition for the occasion. There were gongs, drums, srunei (long flutes,) niffiri (flutes,) nagara (drums) and clapping of hands, also hirbab kachapi (a sort of 5 stringed violin with a large body) dandi, mori kopak, cherachap or castanets, sirdam.

In this manner the festivities were kept up for forty days and forty nights, after which on a fortunate day, and at an auspicious hour, the young prince was married to a princess, (no name) and he was then installed in his father's place under the title of *Raja Maha Podisat*, and the sons of Mahawangsa's old ministers were placed in their room near the person of the new Raja. Mahawangsa after all had thus been settled, assembled the chiefs and ambassadors of Rum, and signified his intention to give the country another name. The ministers replied, certainly your highness, for it is proper that a lasting name should be bestowed on it, while the ministers from Rum observed, that as the country had been got without difficulty, it would be proper that the new name should imply so. Marong Mahawangsa upon

this replied, that since such was their opinion he would give the country the name of Kiddah meaning thereby *Zumin Tauran*
NOTES.

We have now brought our native author up to the time of the *first* Raja, as he chooses to consider him, of Kedda, but Marong Mahawangsa was undoubtedly the first, since it was by his own authority, as far as the chronicle allows us to judge, that *his* son became Raja. Since the latter was of a sufficiently mature age to be married when his father was about to depart from Kedda, we may admit that he was about twenty years of age at that time.

The question put by the Raja to his mantris regarding the countries near him, rather contradicts the previous assertions of our author, for the countries of Cambodia, Java and other Eastern Islands were then flourishing, any of which then too far exceeded Kedda in importance. Malacca, if then settled must have been in its infancy. But I apprehend that it had not been so then. The actual products of Pegu and Kedda were probably little different from what they now are, although our author gives us no insight, beyond his account of the jars and wood, into this subject. Pulo Percha will be again noticed further on.

Kalangi is indiscriminately used by our author to designate the country, or its Raja. In one place we find "Raja Kalangi"—then the "country of Kalangi" and finally, "*Raja Kalangi, the Raja of the country of Awak*" or Ava, now called *Angwa* by the people of the neighbouring regions. The Changong of our author is Pegu which was doubtless celebrated in those times as well as these days for

its teak wood, whether such was obtained from its higher tracts or from the upper country of Ava proper. As to the *mallau tei semut*, this is the present sticklac of commerce, a reddish dye. From the distant source assigned to the river it must have been the Irrawaddy, the river leading up to old Pegu being but narrow and limited in its course.

M. D'Anville in his Ancient Geography supposes that Pegu was probably the Besingitis, at the bottom of the Sinus Tabaricus of Ptolemy. In that case the Martaban country on the San Luen river seems to be the place indicated. Although I endeavoured during a residence of about a year in the lower provinces of Ava, to get access to ancient chronicles of Pegu, I was unsuccessful, nor do I know if any exist. In an abstract of an account of the Tenasserim Provinces which the R. A. Society did me the honor to publish (1) I mentioned that no buildings there are extant of an older date apparently than that of the introduction of Buddhism, an observation which I think will equally apply to the Burmese and Siamese countries, and the assumption by Burmese Phoungi or Buddhist priests of all the chief sacerdotal offices of these lower Provinces of Pegu sufficiently accounts for the want or scarcity of Peguan records.

Bagoo and Pegu are the ancient names for the former capital, if not of the country. Of all its former grandeur nothing when I visited it during the war with Ava in 1825 remained, but the dilapidated brick walls and ditch, and the towering Shui Madu or Staupa, the receptacle for the relics of Buddha. I noticed on a marble slab standing upon the platform of

this building the inscription left by *Along Phra* or Alompra, the Burmese Conqueror of Pegu. It describes his conquest in the usual hyperbolical terms.

When V. De Gama doubled the Cape in A. D. 1497 Peguan vessels traded to Achin. Tenasserim, Tavoy and Mergui, were probably originally under independent chiefs, until the Siamese and Burmese contested for their possession, and afterwards alternately occupied them. It is curious to observe how easy it is to give a learned etymology to any uncertain name. M. D'Anville takes the name as applied to the former country by Europeans only ; and forthwith we have Tanna-serim a colony of Tanna, whereas the native name is *Tannau*. The general belief of the people and all I can elsewhere gather would induce me to suppose that Tannau, a part in fact of Pegu, was originally peopled by the Laos race. But the admixture of the Burmese race has produced we may suppose some alteration in the normal type whatever that may have been. The Shuimadu pagoda or Stupa was reported by Symes during his embassy to Ava on the authority of a Buddhist priest, to have been founded 2,300 years ago (i. e. dating from Symes' mission) by two brothers who came from *Talaumyou* a day's journey east of Martaban. But as this fane was undoubtedly raised to the Buddha of the present Buddhist era, it must in such a case have been built at a period nearly contemporaneous with Buddha himself, which cannot be admitted with reference to the facts known as to the spread of this religion.

The Rumi envoys appear to have quite forgotten half of their mission, the bringing back

of the prince, for they sailed directly towards the W. from Kedda.

The account of Mahawangsa's vessel is consistent enough. The sadem or siddem tree still grows too in the country where the ship as it is related was propped up. The natives still retaining the prominent points of the tradition, pretend to shew the spot where the vessel was drawn up, and that too where the vase rested. This vase is likewise believed to be still visible—and if such really ever existed, even had its size been much less than here represented, there is nothing against the reasonableness of the assertion, for the Peguan vases of the present day are very durable, and well glazed. I have seen some five or six feet high. It has not yet been pointed out to me however. Pegu is even now, famed for its large jars, which form an article of trade between that country and Penang.

The vase for Buddhas Bo Sree was nine cubits in circumference and five feet deep. There is one remark which forcibly occurs to me with reference to the multitude of animals stated to have been slaughtered for food on the young Raja's installation. If his tribe had been strict Buddhists such a sacrifice could not consistently have been made. The Buddhist laity however seem to have pretty generally satisfied their consciences by the conceit of not killing to eat but of eating what had been killed without their previous participation in the sin. But if the colony was a Sivaic one as I feel convinced was the case there can be no difficulty in the case.

The name here given to this first Raja—that is the first who was regularly installed, partakes

more of a religious than of a lay character. Podi-sat is properly *Buddha Satwa*.

I cannot find any Malay of this coast able to explain why the name of Kedda was given to their country. One author states it to be equivalent to zamin tauran or toran—which he says was applied, because the country had been easily obtained. Zamin being “land, country, in Persian, and tor in Arabic—a mountain, we would have the mountain region.” Torani in the latter language means “wild, desolate” which would give “the wild country,” or one in a state of nature—and either of these interpretations will apply, since it would rather seem that the coast line at Pulo Srai was not then cultivated, the aboriginal inhabitants living some way inland, owing perhaps to its having been not long before that period, an island. *Kedda* “is in Persian, a place, vault &c. and in Arabic “a cup or bowl.” Some Malays affirm that the name was given subsequently to the conversion of their ancestors to Islamism which is the most probable supposition, I think, since I consider Mahawangsa a native of India.

But the people of Kedda still call the Kedda peak *Gunong Jerai*, a corruption of Srai—which is the appellative given to it by the Siamese. Chrai is another mode of spelling it. As the word is written in the Malayan character it might be read Sri, great excellent, superior &c. but the natives never pronounce it thus.

[CHAPTER IV.]

Then Marong Mahawangsa said to his son the Raja—"My son, should you be blessed with children, it will be as well that you send a son to the north north west of Kedda, and another to the S. S. E. or nearly so, of Kedda, and a third to the E. N. E. And do not you, my son, leave this country of Kedda, because there is a great extent of waste land still remaining to be cultivated, and a great deal has also been left dry by the sea, and besides, by so doing you will make my name famous throughout the world, as the settler and founder of this country." Then the large jar was brought on shore from the Envoy's ship, and it was placed close to the foot of a tree named *Prokum* (1) which was of the girth of a deer net, or guling aring. The old Raja said nothing when the people reported that the jar had been thus placed, for he was busy preparing to go on board. Soon after this he set sail for Rum. In going out of the harbour, Mahawangsa looked towards the shore and saw *Pulo Lada*, which island had then been annexed to the main land, called afterwards *Bukit Lada*, the 'Hill Lada,' also *Pulo Jambul*, before an island, but which had also been joined to the main shore; and which afterwards got the name of "Hill Jambul," for it was quite in a line with *Pulo Srai*, which last was just about being joined to the main land and was

(1) *Carissa spinarum*, *flaeourtia calaphrasta*. Marsden's Dictionary p. 153. It is a thorny tree.

subsequently named Gunong Jerrei or Chirrei, on account of its great height (a). Again towards the N. N. W. was to be seen what looked like a point of a moveable nature (b) and further seaward Pulo Giryang, which was, not long afterwards, attached to the main, also then called Gunong Giryang, and Bukit Tunjang. [But the Rumi Envoys appear to have forgotten altogether one of the objects they had before assigned for their mission, the finding of the prince of Rum.]

Raja Podisat being thus fairly established in his seat of authority in Kedda or Zumin Tauran, implicitly followed the dictates of prudence, moderation and liberality, in his intercourse with his ministers, and other officers, and towards the ryots, and the merchants, strangers, and the indigent who resorted to his country. In this way his fame for wisdom and hospitality was spread abroad, and induced numbers to flock to Kedda, which soon became more and more populous.

After a while another son was born to the Raja, equally endowed in features and appearance as his elder brother. The royal nurses accordingly selected companions for him from amongst the children of the mantris, and officers of state. Before very long again, he had another son who was provided with companions in a similar manner, agreeably to the usage of great princes.

A long time in days and years had not elapsed after this event, when his highness was present-

(a) Srai in Siamese is the name of the *Ficus religiosa* or Banian tree of this part of the Peninsula.

(b) Means what has an undulating and floating appearance at a distance like liquid mud.

ed by his queen with a daughter of exceeding loveliness of feature, sweetly elegant, of a light yellow complexion and delicately slender. It would have been indeed difficult in those days to have found her like. The young princess was also provided with attendants, nurses (dry) and playmates from amongst the children of the men of consequence. After how long an interval again of years and months, the Raja had another son born to him, who was equally gifted, as his two elder brothers, with personal endowments. It was a great source of delight to Maha Podisat to watch these children at play, and to see them daily increasing in stature and knit together by mutual affection, and acquiring also all the desired accomplishments of mind and of person. His highness when he sat in his hall, for the administration of justice, and state affairs, along with all his officers, used to have these four children present, that they might learn how to govern, and their behaviour, prudence and generosity gained them the love and applause of all the chiefs and people, and the gratitude of the poor. Their politeness and affability to strangers and merchants secured their esteem and admiration. When also the Raja gave audience in state in his palace, these four children would not be absent, but sat close to their *parents* in a respectful manner; and conversed with and addressed them in pleasing language. In fact they would not separate themselves from their royal parents. When too, the Raja accompanied his sons outside of the fort, he gave to each of them a horse, and a weapon, and made them, while at a gallop, tilt at the stalk of a water lily. The plain was full of people who

flocked to see this exercise of the young princes, and their practice also, on horseback, with the bow and arrow. These sports were repeated every three days, and the sons of the ministers also joined in them.

At length these four royal children grew up, and it became requisite that governments should be provided for them. Accordingly when the Raja was one day seated in public with his officers around him, the four *old* mantris made obeisance and said—"We four brothers, may it please your highness, are of opinion that it is now time to follow the injunction of your royal father Maiong Mahawaangsa, by sending your children to their respective destinations, especially now, because the lands indicated and tracts mentioned by your father are all *wildernesses*, they have no inhabitants, or at least they have only scattered populations and they have no rulers. Raja Marong Maha Podisat replied—"If this be the advice of my brothers I pray you to send and collect all the tribes or families of Girgassis, and instruct their *Panghulus* Nang Suttaman and Pra Chi Sam, and their wives to come with them, as I intend to order them to accompany my eldest son, the rest of the escort will be composed of my *Malays*. The journey is in a N. N. W. direction and is a long one." Then Pra Chi Sam and his wife having arrived, they were thus accosted by the Raja—"Oh chief! you, your wife and family are to accompany my eldest son—so assemble all your people, and then set forth in search of an eligible country for my son to rule over and where he may erect a fort with a ditch" Pra Chi Sam and his wife and family and Nang Sutaman, professed their readiness

to go, observing that this country of Kedda is confined and not sufficient to contain the increasing numbers of your highnesses people the Girkassis. But, said Chi Sam, will your highness be pleased to inform me if my son Parak will be retained here at Court. The Raja told him to take Parak along with the party. This Pra Chi Sam was the son of a Malay and had been married to Nang Suttaman a Girkassi, and they had a son, the Parak just mentioned. The lad was handsome. It happened that a Girkassi panghulu or chief, named Nang Meri, who was the *daughter* of a Girkassi Raja, had then arrived. *She* was a *chaste* of the first rank and consequence amongst her tribes. Nang Meri was advanced somewhat in life, for she had both children and grand children, and the females had all been taken to the Raja's palace, as they were very *beautiful*, *being all Girkassi*. Now Nang Meri was madly in love with this Parak, son of the couple Nang Suttaman and Phra Chi Sam

All having been got armed and ready, the colony departed to the N. N. W. There were numbers of horses and elephants along with it, and the march was enlivened by field sports and fishing, and diversified by the various objects of interest which the party encountered, but no eligible spot yet presented itself for a settlement. At length the party arrived, after two hundred days and nights travelling, at a desirable spot, *where was a rivulet which flowed into the sea*. The land was *level* and *populous*. Here the young chief erected a fort and palace and dug a ditch round all, and became the Raja of the country, and then he sent and collected the scattered population of the

districts into a narrower compass. He then called this large country *Siam Lanchang*. [It requires 12 days for troops to reach Ligor from Kedda and 14 days for men mounted on elephants.] Then the Raja of Kedda learned that his son had been settled in the Government of that country called *Siam*, and that he had ordered that those districts which would not submit to Siam should be attacked and destroyed by the chief of the Girkassis Phra Chi Sam and his men. The obedient districts sent their officers with gifts, and offerings in token of their allegiance to the *country of Siam*. [7.]

NOTES.

[7] I shall have occasion in the sequel here to examine narrowly this claim set up by our Kedda annalist that the Kedda country gave a King to Siam. It is undoubtedly within the scope of possibility, and, if Loubere was correct, of probability, for that author remarks, that all the Kings of Siam were not of the same race. But I have discovered no recorded facts to countenance the supposition, that Mahawangsa was a progenitor of any king of Siam. I think however, that there will be sufficient evidence to shew that an intercourse had begun at an early period betwixt Kedda and Siam, and that the former was one of the inlets to the lower provinces, at least, of Siam, of the religions of India.

It would seem, as I have before hinted, from the reply given by the mantris to their Raja, that they knew only of two celebrated kingdoms within a reasonable distance, namely, Achin and Pegu, yet at this period Java, Menangkabau in Sumatra, and the ancient Singapura, or Johor,

the Sabor, it is believed, of Ptolemy, were flourishing. The putting of such a question belied the assumption that Kedda then carried on an extensive trade with foreign countries.

The bow here called *dhachang* was only used by Rama and Buddha.

Rokam is a Malayan name for a wild fruit tree, the *carissa spinarum* or *flacourtie calaphrasta* of Marsden, and the girth of the one described was that of a *guling aring* or deer net, which would give a diameter of about three feet. This net or trap is shaped and constructed like a purse. The hoops are connected by meshes of rattans, and when not in use, it folds or closes up just as a purse does. Its length is about 6 or 7 feet. The same trap is employed to catch wild hog, nearly the same to carry hogs to market. The underwood of the forest is cut along a given line, and then formed into a bushy fence with apertures at intervals, in which the nets are fastened with the open end of course inward. Sometimes, especially when hog is the game, these nets are set something in the manner of a mole-trap, by bending down a thick branch of a tree to act as a spring. A party of men takes a wide circuit, and drives the animals towards the fence, when the latter rush into the *guling aring*. I have seen a large pig swung up into the air by this contrivance.

Gunong Giryang. is the "elephant rock" of modern maps. It rises abruptly out of a low marshy plain; and is about 3 or 4 miles inland. It is a towering mass of apparently primary limestone, and the shells embedded in a ferruginous breccia found in its numerous caves, proclaim it to have been an island as described by our author. Within my own experience, or the last

twenty years, the sea has in some place on the coast of Province Wellesley, about 40 miles further south, receded from 5 to about 100 yards in some places, while the land has lost as much in others. The word "populous" as employed by our author conveys no definite idea of the population of Kedda at the period. Looking at the first area actually, by his account, occupied by the mere colony. I would be inclined not to rate it in Raja Podisat's time in the beginning of his reign, beyond 1,000 souls at the utmost, *exclusive* of the aboriginal inhabitants, or Girgassi. There seems to be a little too much of adaptation in the number of children assigned to Raja Podisat, as it just meets the number desired by his father Marong Mahawangsa. This supposition is based on that of the colonists having consisted of the passengers of one ship only, and as the Girgassi chief asserted that the populous, or overpopulous state of Kedda arose from the increase of their tribes, not of foreigners.

If the description we here find of the attention paid by the Kedda Rajahs to the education of their children be correct, it will forcibly contrast with the culpable and apathetical indifference exhibited by most of the Malayan Rajas of the present day, for their sons receive little or no education befitting their station, but only such as to render them piratical abroad, and cruel and oppressive to their subjects at home. There is however one part of education which is never neglected, a scrupulous attention to the rules of politeness, which in after life too frequently merges in to a morbid sensitiveness, alike afraid of giving offence by speech, and ready to take offence at every fancied slight.

It is a cloak too amongst the unprincipled portion of the Malays to treachery and revenge.

There is now no predominant Malayan power. Were the shattered fragments of the original dynasties to be left to themselves, without the checks of the Dutch on the one hand, and the British on the other, a dreadful scene of anarchy would ensue. Wherever a new settlement is formed a fort and ditch and a palace are the three things first attended to. The Girgassi were governed by a woman, and the chieftainess, Nang Suttaman, came it appears from a *distance*, so that it is to be supposed that Kedda was not the seat of her authority, but where that was does not appear. The horses alluded to may have been got from either Achin or Pegu, the latter is the most probable supposition, the Sumatran ponies being too small for *warlike evolutions*. But this continent southward of Ava has never been adapted to cavalry. The distance allowed by our author from Kedda to Siam Lanchang is 200 days, and this would be more than sufficient for a journey to the present capital of Siam. The sea however directly to the eastward of Kedda can be reached in 7 or 8 days. The direction could not have been directly to the N. N. W. This must be a mistake as it would lead to the Bay of Bengal. It is stated that several districts would not submit to the *Kingdom of Siam* almost inferring that the country was not a new one as here attempted to be shewn.

We now find our author mentioning *Malays* as forming a part of Raja Podisat's subjects. Thus there must have been a population consisting of three distinct races, the Girgassis, or *aborigines*, the *Colonists*, and the *Malays*.

The subject of the origin of the Malayan race is still beset with difficulties. We are made aware by the writings of Sir S. Raffles and others as well as by native authorities, that Menangkabau is Sumatra was a very early and chief seat of *Malayan power*. The etymology by the *Malays* of Menangkabau, as quoted by Sir S. Raffles (1,) of the name *Malaya* is rather fanciful. A chief named Sauria Geding had proceeded on an expedition to Sumatra. Two of his people (doubtless with followers) Patisi Batong and Kai Tamongong fled to Menangkabau and in time established a new government. As they had been wood cutters, the nation was called *Malaya* from *Mala*, to bring or fetch, and *ayu* wood. But neither of these words are as far I can learn now used in such a sense by the *Malays*, nor are they to be found so applied in Marsden's Dictionary. This last reason however would not alone hold good, because there is a large number of Malayan words not included in it, and some may have become obsolete. But are we to suppose that the Malayan race was indigenous to the Peninsula? Some writers have imagined that they came from the north, or from the vicinity of Tartary. That various tribes have been successively thrust southward from that quarter by the pressure perhaps of population, partly admits of proof. The Malayan features certainly more resemble those of the Indo-Chinese generally considered, than they do those of any other nation. But there is an impediment say some to this argument for similarity of origin, in the very marked distinction which exists

between the structure of the Malayan language as it now exists and the whole of the Indo-Chinese dialects. The first is polysyllabic, the latter are monosyllabic in most instances, and in the rest having the monosyllabic structure even while admitting some polysyllables. Marsden noticed that one language once prevailed from Madagascar to the Archipelago. Does the language of the former now bear any affinity to the Malayu? But this would tend rather to prove that the race travelled west. They reached the Cape of Good Hope too. Sir S. Raffles remarked that the Javanese say that they navigated in former times to Madagascar. And it is stated in the Ceylonese Mahawanso that Ceylon was invaded by an army of Javako or Javanese. The Javanese visit to Madagascar took place Mr. Crawfurd supposes or says before the Hindoos or Arabs reached Java—which would have thus been at least 75 A D.

There is a considerable diversity of colour amongst the Malays of the present day, owing to intermixture with foreign races. But on this point I suspect that the original type not only of the Malays but of the Indo-Chinese in general once approximated much closer to the colour of the Chinese than it now does. I have invariably found that the more secluded any of these tribes lived the fairer were their complexions. I observed this particularly amongst the jungle Karians of Martaban province, and one of the wild or aboriginal tribes of the Malacca Peninsula in the heart of Perak. I except of course the woolly haired races. The colour of these Perak Sainang, as they are called, whom I saw, was much fairer than that of the Malays around them, being nearly that of the southern Chinese

for those of the north are as fair as many Europeans. The partiality of all of the Malayan tribes leans strongly towards fairness of skin, whereas the African who never perhaps was fairer than he is now, deems blackness, perfection.

"White and yellow" mixed is the favourite expression which Malayan writers, amongst whom is our author, employ when describing female beauty.

There is a curious passage in *Sajara Malayn* or Malayan Annals which might tend to induce a belief that there were tribes of the *original* Malay race on the Malacca coast when the colony of, in this case, *foreign* Malays, reached it.

"Sultan Mudhafer Shah, of Malacca, ordered "the Bandahara Paduka Raja to drive the "Siamese out of the country (they had invaded "it) and he directed Sri Vija Al di Raja with "the rest of the hulubalangs and champions to "accompany the Bindahara. This Sri Vija Al "di Raja was a *native Malay* and named origin- "ally Tuan Humza" [Humza it may be observed is the famous sacred goose of India] "and he derived his origin from the cows "vomit." (1) This last remark has also reference to *Hindu* superstitions. The word in the original work, at least in my copy of it, is Asl, which means root, origin, source, which are still stronger expressions than the one Leyden has here used, But the author may have only meant that he was an unconverted Malay.

It would seem that the Malays at first occupied the East Coast of the Peninsula along the

(1) *Mal. An. Leyden*, C. XIII. p. 130.

gulf of Siam from Sangora or Singhora inclusive to Point Romania or Ujong Tannah Malayu. But they were overrun by, and their countries were brought from time to time, under the sway of the Siamese. When this rule to the south of Siam Proper began is not certain, but if any credit be due to the Malayan annals, it must have been long before the settlement of the ancient Singapura.

CHAPTER V.

Raja Marong Maha Podisat gave orders very soon after this object of settling his son had been gained, that his four ministers should collect a body of armed men, horses and elephants, with every requisite for another expedition. So when all had been prepared, his second son departed with it, journeying towards the S. S. E. of Kedda, in search of a place to form a settlement and to build a fort and palace with the usual defences; and being accompanied by ministers and other state officers, ryots and followers. The expedition passed through the deep forests, and over hills, passing the time in all kinds of amusement and sports of the field, and when it reached a deep pond or pool the people stopped to fish. At length the colony reached a large river which descended to the sea.

Again it came to a water course and lake, which surrounded a row of three or four Islands. The young prince was charmed with the aspect of these Islands. He therefore took a polished silver arrow, and adjusting it to his bow called *Indrasakti*, thus addressed it:—"speed and fly thou away towards these three or four Islands and there descend—and wherever you now reach the ground there I will form my settlement and build my fort." The silver arrow sped aloft with a sound like that made by the wings of the humming beetle and fell upon one of the Islands—therefore the prince called the Island *Indrasakti*. Here on that spot the Raja

built a fort and surrounded it with a ditch, and then erected his palace. He had all the inhabitants and people too, who were dispersed and scattered about, collected. Thus having got into his palace with all his people about him, he found that the new country was established, he then called it *Nigri Perak* or the Perak or Silver county—after that silver-pointed arrow. So the country continued settled and flourishing under the just and wise sway of the new Raja. [8]

When Marong Maha Podisat heard of this fortunate result of the expedition, he said to his four old mantris—"My brothers I beg you to get ready the supernaturally gifted elephant named Lela Johari, which our father Marong Mahawangsa used to ride. Let it be provided with a royal Sukhtikurjaan or howdah having a canopy and hangings because I desire to raise my daughter to the dignity of a Raja and to settle her in a government. Do you my four brothers accompany her to her destination; and take charge of her and the expedition, and when the undertaking shall have been accomplished, then do you four return here to me, leaving the elephant Kamala Jauhari to attend its mistress, because it will be able to give me always speedy accounts of her the princess my daughter." Accordingly all was quickly got ready, and the princess having been seated on her elephant Kamala Jauhari, the Raja put into her hand a charmed kris called *Lela Masani* which was originally willed as an heir loom, He likewise said to the elephant. "If thy mistress shall become a Raja, do not thou discontinue going backwards and forwards betwixt her settlement and Kedda, to keep me informed

of all that happens to her." Then Jauhari made obeisance, and set off due *East* followed by all the ministers and other state officers, who were appointed to escort her. They soon entered upon a wild, woody tract, covered with primeval forest, of great extent and unfrequented;—then having quitted that broad level country the elephant led the expedition over hills and mountains. When the colony had approached near to the sea there, and had arrived at a large river which emptied itself into the sea, the elephant Jauhari halted, for the place was level. Here was erected a palace and a fort defended by a ditch, and the chiefs and people having effected this, the Queen examined the buildings, and then seating herself on her throne received the homage of her subjects. Now all those who thus presented themselves before her highness, were quite astonished at her state, and the power conferred upon her by the possession of the enchanted kris and the elephant *Lela Jauhari*.

Thus from month to month and from year to year, the population of the place increased. The four ministers finding all in such a fair train craved leave to return to Kedda and asked also her highness to favour them with the name of the new settlement. The female Raja approved to their desire to return, and told them that they should acquaint her royal father that the country had been named *Patani*, because or on account of the kris *lela mussani* (a)

Thus the Raja of Kedda Marong Maha Podisat happily accomplished his desire to settle his children in separate Governments, yet grief as-

(a) The sequiter here is quite obscure.

sailed his mind, when he reflected on the solitary condition of his remaining son for he had no other child, than this youngest before mentioned, and moreover he was getting aged, and because (owing to so many drains upon it) the population of Kedda had become scanty. In order therefore to dispel his melancholy he spent most of his time in hunting animals of the forest and netting birds, and allowed his son to carry on the Government with the aid of the ministers and principal state officers. [9]

NOTES.

[8] The Malayan Rajas are generally attached to field sports. The Krean is the only large river betwixt Kedda and Perak. But I am not aware of any lake enclosing islands in that direction. It may possibly allude to the Dinding islands close to the mouth of the Perak river, or to some tract near or at Bruas river. Perak is admitted by the Chronicle to have been at this period well peopled, and if the Malayan annals are to be trusted it was so at a very early period. In these it is stated that Manjong or Perak was a great country, and gave to Acheh or Achin its first King who was named Polong, (1) but Acheh received from Champa a King of the same name, which creates a doubt here as to the identity of this last Polong. In the Achinese annals (Malayan) we find that Sultan Mansurshah the Raja of Perak was raised to the throne of Achin in A. M. 985 or A. D. 1607 Marsden gives the date at 1567, but does not I believe quote any authority. Bruas on a river of that name seems to have been the capital. The people are very illiterate and I could not,

(1) Malayan Annals C. VIII. 2 Phraya Turin, is a high officer of the Siamese Army.

when there, get from either the Raja or his subjects any account either oral or written of the ancient state of their country. In the Malayan annals however we find that the celebrated Raja Suran or Surin of Amdan Nagara or Bijanuggur in the Peninsula of India (2) when he invaded the Malayan Peninsula, arrived first at Gunga Nagara in Perak. If Kedda had then existed he, supposing that the prominent features of the narrative are correct, would most likely have conquered it first. The Raja of Gunga Nagara had his fort on a hill, steep in front, but of easy access in the rear and situated on the Dinding river, now perhaps the Perak river, although the country is very *level* until we ascend far up the river. The Raja was named Gungi *Shah* Juana. I may observe here that Malayan Rajas from the earliest times of their intercourse with the west have used and now use indiscriminately both Indian and Persian titles. The invader attacked this fort, and it seems that no fire-arms were employed, bows, arrows, swords and spears only being mentioned. It is not stated by what route this Army of Suran came, but it must have been by sea. Manjong is another name given to Perak, or part of it, in these annals, but neither it nor Gunga Nagara, literally the country of Ganges, are terms now in use.

[9] *Patani*.—This country comprises a considerable area. Its population it is believed has been greatly reduced during the last century, and does not now exceed a tithe of what it once was. It was anciently one of the most populous principalities on the Peninsula. The Malayan annals shew that Patani was conquered

(2) A Siamese title.

by Siam during the reign of Sultan Mahomed in about A. D. But it must have been so long before. Floris observes that it was "formerly governed by Queens" thus corroborating the Marong Mahawangsa, and "that it was conquered by *Raja Api*, the black or Fire King of Siam about A. D. 1603." I suspect that this Black Prince must have been a foreigner, perhaps an Indian. *Api* is a *Malayan* word meaning *fire*. But the Siamese had conquered it, and that perhaps for the first time as the same annals inform us, by Chao Sri Bangsa, a son of the Emperor of Siam, about the latter part of the fourteenth century. Its Raja, Suliman, was on this occasion expelled. His town and fort were called Kota Malegei, viz., "fort and palace" Hamilton says that Patani paid tribute to Siam in 1703 A. D. but was under Johor. If the Kedda annals be correct, the country was first settled under a Queen. At the period of the last named conquest, the ruler of Ligor was Maha Raja Deva Sura. But rebellions have been frequent since that time, one having happened so late as 1830-31, although like the preceding ones it was quite unsuccessful. On this last occasion, as well as in the rebellion of 1786, the Siamese employed a large body of Kedda troops, and this, too, while the outbreak against them by the Malays of that province had been but barely suppressed, thus evincing the great superiority which the Siamese possess over the Malays in fact, decision, method and combination.

One of the Rajas of Johore according to Patanese tradition, for I have not yet obtained any *connected* written history of Patani, married the last Queen of Patani, Phra Chu, the nuptials

having been celebrated at the latter place with great pomp. Previous to this event Patani had been divided into forty-three mukims or divisions including Calantan and Tringanu, and its two chief ports were Qualla Patani and Qualla Bukkah. But the Johor Raja had obtained the district of Tringanu for one of his favourite courtiers, thus reducing the number to 42. The capital was then called Kota Kiddei the "mart fort."

Soon after this alliance the Johor Raja fell in love with Dang Frat, the beautiful daughter of one of the Patani chiefs, who became his mistress, and in time acquired such an ascendancy over him, that he neglected Phra Chu, who accordingly nursed in her bosom the serpent of jealousy. "To exhibit her influence she got "the Raja to order to be made for her a golden "chaping, or *fig leaf* (anglice) of a cubit "breadth, and weighing five catties, or 6½ lbs. "which surprised the goldsmith, and would "have convulsed the courtiers with laughter "when she wore it at her waist, had they not "suppressed it for fear of the Raja, for she ap- "peared like one outrageously *enceinte*." The Raja built a fort and a palace for Dang Frat giving it the name of Kota Bharu. or "the new fort," which event distressed the people and gave rise to several satirical poetical effusions in the country of Kedda. One day his highness deigned to recollect his neglected wife, and went to pay her a visit, but on his approach he was met by messengers sent by the indignant lady forbidding his advance, and directing him forthwith to evacuate the country. The Raja perceived that he had no means of resistance so he sailed for Johor. Phra Chu after having

bestowed her unmarried maids of honour in marriage on her chiefs continued to reign alone for ten years, until her death. When this happened the chiefs constituted an oligarchy and the old fort was demolished in order to obliterate all remembrance of royalty, and to prevent any one being tempted to assume the supreme power.

This oligarchy divided amongst them the forty-two districts and all the property of the late government, and the chief who had held the highest rank under Phra Chu was allowed to retain the title of Dattu. These chiefs were all individually independent, but they confederated for mutual defence. So the people only exchanged, a perhaps, *matriarchal* government mildly administered, for a knot of petty despots. In those days Patani had a population it is said of 150,000 males, from 16 to 60 years of age. It is still populous and sends its hundreds to the Haj every year. The Patani mountains, dividing it from Kedda and Perak, have rather a grand appearance when seen from Penang. They are, where most elevated, I should suppose from four to five thousand feet above the level of the sea. I passed there in 1836 when proceeding to inspect the Patani tin mines, which last yield pretty abundant supplies of that metal. Patani is fertile in rice; and cattle are supplied by it to Penang. These animals are compactly built, and have moderately sized humps.

The Patanese appear to be a mixed race. They seem to be more industrious than the Malays around them. Their religion is Islamism, and there are more hajis amongst them than are perhaps to be found amongst an equal num-

ber of Malays anywhere else. The intending hajis generally cross the hills, and embark for Arabia in some Arab vessel at Penang. The Patanese are not wanting in courage. The products of their country are gold, tin, grain, cardamums of inferior quality to those of Malabar, salt, buffalo and horned cattle, pepper, saltpetre and wax.

This province of lower Siam is now divided into six mukims only of the first class, and one of the second class. The English established a factory here in 1610, but abandoned it in 1623.

A Buddhist priest of Siam gave me the following short recital which confirms the account of a princess having gone from Kedda to Patani :

“ Six men fled from China and settled at Patani. They must have been people of great consequence because the Emperor tried to secure them but failed. After they had fled from Patani to Siam, Phra Chan Ko Lai, a son of the Emperor of Siam Chao Chiwit (1) went to reside at Patani contrary to his father’s wishes. There was at this period a princess of Srai or Kedda who came to Patani or Tani, as it was also then called, and offered to marry this son of Chao Chiwit if he would seize the capital of Siam. This he refused it appears, doubtless because he had not the means, and the lady forthwith expelled him from Patani, and took the Government in her own hands, but the Emperor of Siam afterwards regained that province and appointed district governor to rule it.”

Owing to this custom of allowing women to

(1) A mere title, viz., “ Lord of Life.”

wield the reins of empire, and which seems to have been pretty widely extended, we might be induced to attribute a considerable degree of refinement to the people whom they ruled. But it is to be suspected that this refinement did not go deeply into society, and that the real power was generally exercised by ministers, if not usurped by them. Wherever Islamism was introduced these females ceased to reign, and were excluded from succession. At this day Indo-Chinese females enjoy more personal liberty and enter more directly and keenly into the bustle of life than do those of India. So I have noted to be the case in Pegu, in Burmah, and amongst the Siamese. In Siam the lady of a governor of a province is not debarred from acting officially for him during his temporary absence. Another Siamese, a priest, informed me that Phra Chan Ko Lai, the son of Chao Chiwit, King of Siam (a) went to Tani, or Patani, to drive off some Chinese. It happened that a Princess of Srai or Sai had arrived there from that country, who promised to marry him provided he would seize on the throne of Siam. But finding him rather disposed to remain master of Patani, she had him killed and reigned herself. The Emperor of Siam however reduced the country afterwards, and having apportioned it amongst certain chiefs made them tributaries, [which mode of ruling is in practise at this day.]

Alphonso de Soza reduced Patani town to ashes in A. D. 1527. The above two recitals however come to confirm the account of our Kedda historian, for the Marong Mahawangso

(A) Chao Chiwit "the Lord of Life," it applied to every King of Siam.

was not known to the Siamese, being in the Malayan language and preserved in the private repositories of the Rajas of Kedda*. It was discovered by the Raja of Ligor when he last took that province into his own hands, and it is said he destroyed it when told that a king of Siam had his origin there.

* Other copies must exist. We have one.—ED.

CHAPTER VI.

A LONG period had not elapsed when Raja Marong Podisat fell ill and died—and was laid according to the usage towards the remains of deceased princes of consequence and power. The young prince and all his court were plunged in grief, and the sad tidings were communicated by letters to the two brothers and the sister of the former. Then all the ministers and warriors of rank assembled to consult as to what should be the young Raja's title. The prince determined it should be Raja Sri Mahawangsa of Kedda. *

This Raja became tired of living at the fort of Lankasuka because it was *now far from the sea*. Then he directed his four ministers to collect lime and shells in order to make a fort and ditch, *further down*, because that river (or the river) was broad, full and deep, and had an impetuous current. The Sri Maha Raja Wangsa, did not fail to go in person to look out for a fit spot for a new station—and as a preliminary arrangement he constructed a temporary small palace at a spot named *Srokam*. At this time the Raja had born to him a son by the daughter of a *Malayan Raja* [no name.] Not long after this time a letter arrived from the Raja's elder brother from Siam. It was accompanied by a great many splendid and costly gifts. It conveyed the intelligence that

* It may be here remarked that the Rajas took, and I believe are now allowed to take, any Malayan title they choose—this conferring no degree of authority upon them

the Raja's elder brother, the Raja of the country of Siam, had got a son, who was very handsome and tall of stature, and that he was *seven* years of age. Sri Mahawangsa was delighted to see all the gifts which arrived along with the letter, and he was only at a loss to send an adequate return.

When the gifts and goods had been deposited in the palace, the Raja feasted the ambassadors; giving them abundance to eat and drink, and appointed a pleasant residence for them.

One day when Sri Mahawangsa was holding his Court amidst his ministers and officers of state, he addressed the four ministers, requesting them to assemble all the gold and silver-smiths, the iron-smiths and the carpenters of the place. These artificers presented themselves before the prince and received his orders. But it was very difficult to please his highness, so that it took several years before the present could be got ready. He even for a while delayed the building of his fort. There was at length prepared a golden tree, having golden flowers, and also one of silver with silver flowers. There were besides, a double pointed and barbed [a] spear adorned with red gold and ferruled with silver,—a spear with a sharp slender point adorned with gold and silver, and a spear called "the flowered spear" embossed with gold and silver, and weapons and spears and shields complete for warriors.

These were all approved of by his highness, and ordered to be sent for the amusement of his nephew, the son of the Raja of Siam, and in order that the name of the donor should be exalted for the future. The gifts were given in

[a] A barbed spear.

charge to a mantri, with a train of one hundred men besides the Siamese envoys, and honorary dresses were bestowed on the whole. The Raja further instructed the envoys to convey to his elder brother his request, that should he have other children, he should not fail to apprise him of it, and that if he himself should happen to be dead, the custom should be kept up as regards his descendants, as evidence of mutual fraternal affection. Then all the ministers and envoys who were about to set out, made respectful obeisance and promised faithfully to repeat his highness' words to his brother the Raja of Siam. So the party set out for the country of Siam and some time after reached it. It happened that the Raja there was seated in a large assembly of his courtiers and state officers, and the young prince was also present to witness the opening of the presents transmitted from Kedda. The Raja was very much pleased with all of these, and at the playthings which his brother had sent for his nephew the young prince. Then turning to the envoys who had brought these, and the gold and silver flowers, he inquired respecting the welfare of his brother, and Kedda, and if the population of his country was large or otherwise. The envoys replied in the manner directed by their master. The Raja of Siam was exceedingly pleased with their replies, and laughed and smiled at the news. He then directed honorary dresses to be given to the envoys and mantris, and directed also that they should be hospitably entertained. The objects of the mission having thus been accomplished, the Raja of Siam sent for the Kedda (envoys) ministers and told them to say to their master—"If I should have a son,

or if my brother should have one, let the present custom of sending gifts be observed. Let our brother make in such an event, similar gold and silver flowers with those now transmitted, and forward them to us, because our son has been quite overjoyed at beholding such, and they will be capital playthings for him. Since my son saw these beautiful objects, and cast his eyes on the arms and appurtenances, he has felt no desire to return to or enter the palace." "Your highness' instructions shall be fully and respectfully complied with, replied the Kedda envoys, but your servants wish to represent that it is possible, for who can speak to the contrary, that Kedda and its Raja may at some future period be involved in difficulties. In such an event where can confidence be reposed?—and from whence can succour be looked for, but in, and from your highness?" To this the Raja of the country of Siam replied—"If any such event should happen to my brother or the country of Kedda, I will consider it as happening to myself. Day and night I will reflect on this; that whatever is injurious to Kedda is also so to Siam, and that as their interests are identical, mutual amity will exist for the future betwixt the two countries." So the envoys returned to Kedda.

The Raja of Kedda, Sri Mahawangsa, was very much gratified by the report of his envoys on their return, and with the flattering speeches and letter of his brother, and he was greatly pleased with the gifts, goods and articles of dress brought for him.

In this manner the Raja of Kedda continued to govern his country—and he busied himself about the building of his fort and palace,

collecting lime and shells for the masonry work. He also sent gifts to his brother of Perak, and to his sister in Patani, and acquainted them that their elder brother the Raja of Siam had also got a son, for whom a suitable alliance by marriage was desirable, as he was old enough to become settled in life. [10]

There was in the palace of Sri Mahawongsa a girl who, as before mentioned, was a grand child of the Girgassi Nang Meri, the panghulu or chief, and Raja over the tribe and forces of the Girgassi. This girl, it will be remembered, was exceedingly graceful and beautiful, and had a light yellow complexion, and that on account of these gifts of person she had been detained in Kedda when Nang Meri escorted the Raja of Siam to his destination. Now it so happened, although unexpectedly, that the young prince, the son of the Raja, became enamoured of this girl, and wished to marry her. The Raja tried all he could to prevent the match, saying to his son that the girl belonged to a totally distinct tribe, and that no one could tell what might be the result, for observed his highness, "the children of such a marriage may inherit the propensities, and sensual desires of the Girgassi race, and thus *eat flesh without cooking it.*" But the prince was deaf to all remonstrances, and married the girl against his father's will. This disobedience of the prince so preyed upon the mind of the Raja, Sri Mahawangsa, that he sickened and departed, [i. e. died] or vanished, and was *laid* by his son, and ministers, and officers of state, with the solemnities befitting the obsequies of great Rajas. So the prince assumed the reins of Government, and ruled

Kedda, following in the steps of his deceased royal father.

About this time some one came unexpectedly [to the Raja] and gave information that there was downwards or seawards a small stream called Sungei Mas, which communicated with the sea ; where the land and situation were both excellent. His highness went to examine the spot and approved of it, for the site of a fort and residence, and he and his chiefs passed up and down with this *intention*. Now it happened at this period that his highness had a son by his princess, the grandchild of the Girgassi. The child was of an uncommon size to the beholders. His highness was delighted, and after appointing the necessary attendants from amongst the families of his chiefs, he named his son *Raja Maha Prit Durya* ; and afterwards brought him up agreeably to the usages of great Rajas towards their children. This young prince from month to month, and from year to year, increased in stature. Now the Raja was still bent on erecting the fort and palace at Sungei Mas. [11]

NOTES.

[10] We are here informed by our annalist that Raja Marong Podisat was laid or buried. Although, as I shall have occasion hereafter to show, the people of Kedda were at this period worshippers both of Buddha and of Siva, it must still appear that cremation was not practised. The word *simpan* or to lay, is the word used by Malays when describing the burial of men of high rank. Within what were once the precincts of the Hindu temples, I have indeed found indubitable marks of the practice of

burning the dead, but I apprehend that these were the ashes of priests and persons who had come from India to settle, or zealous native followers of the priests. I was fortunate enough to find during one of my excursions near Gunong Jerrai, several ruins of ancient tombs where bodies were *interred*, and from the size and materials of these tombs, of which the ruins were sufficient to enable me to form a judgment, I conclude they may be the mausoleums of some of the Rajas named by our an-nalist, especially as the sites correspond very closely with those he describes, and were erected in the vicinity of temples now in ruin. These tombs had been built so close to Sivaic temples that they must have been erected before the introduction of Islamism. The Malays who were along with me expressed their opinion, founded on certain anatomical appearances which I cannot at present describe, that the occupants of these tombs were not of the Malayan race, but were most likely klings.

The Rajas of Kedda seem to have been given to locomotion. Almost every reign was followed by a change in the seat of government. This will help to account for the want of solidity in their forts. These, if we may judge from the existing ruins, were generally of mud—and where bricks and stones were used, these were built up without any other cement than a tenacious clay. The means of the first Rajas, the earlier ones at least, were doubtless rather scanty; and all their superfluous money appears to have been lavished on religious edifices—which last, in so far as I have been able to trace them, were of a simple form, and of moderate size, with hardly any sculpture to render them

imposing. We have preparations for burning shells for lime frequently noticed—but I have not found any lime in any of the ruins which I have excavated, comprising all that were of any note. Coral shells are the chief materials from which lime is now made in Kedda and Penang for architectural purposes, although limestone abounds at no great distance—mounds of shells were found by me near these sites—but probably it was found too expensive to use brick and mortar. The Rajas, it should seem, effected their purposes in those times, as they now do, by forced labour. No subject dared then nor can he now venture to raise a stone edifice in Kedda. Thus the ruins of the largest town would consist entirely of those of religious buildings—and perhaps a very few public ones.

The first move is noticed as having been made down *the river* (near the Muda) from Lankasuka—leaving us to infer that the latter and original site could not have been far from that river. "Lankasuka was at some distance from the sea" meaning by the course of the river—because in a direct line it must have been close to the sea—unless a previous removal of the capital under the former name had taken place. But such is not stated to have been the case.

The river is described also as being very tortuous, and as having high banks, features appertaining to it at the present day. Owing to the last peculiarity the country is subject to inundations, the slope being from the banks.

Traces of the wall of the fort of *Srokam* still exist, shewing that it was partly erected with the laterite found close at hand, and lining the north bank of the river.

The mention of *drink* in the feasts shews that fermented liquor or ardent spirits formed a part of them. In respect to artificers, enough has been found by me to evince a fair degree of proficiency in the working up of iron. The articles composed of other metals, chiefly bronze, appear to me to have been manufactured in India—and perhaps some of them by Siamese.

The annalist tries to substitute the words "playthings" instead of tributary gifts; in order to get rid of an unpleasant conviction; for gold and silver flowers are at the present day the accustomed marks of vassalage and subjection, which the court of Siam exacts from its distant provinces. The value of these is very indefinite. It may range from three thousand to ten thousand dollars.

There were no reciprocal gifts between the Raja of Kedda and his son and daughter, respectively of Perak and Patani—because, as we may infer, he had no necessity for appeasing them.

There is no mention either, of the decease of the three heads of the colonies thus sent forth.

[11] Young Malayan princes emancipate themselves at an early age from parental authority, paying however at the same time a due respect to their parents. They are generally reckless spendthrifts. Indeed in these days of the decline of the Malayan power, it is a rare thing to find a rich Malay under the rank of a Raja, while the richest of the Rajas, would be reckoned very poor were he an Indian one.

In the text it will be seen that our author has fallen into another slight inconsistency, for if the Raja really held the belief that the Girgassi were evil spirits, how could he have

taken the girl into his family. He is very prolix and tautological in his accounts of royal births. I have omitted all such repetitions.

Sungei Mas was explored by me. It is a small stream falling into the old channel of the Muda river. The appearance of bricks scattered about, tends to corroborate our author's account of it. I excavated the ruins of a brick building without finding any thing to indicate its original use. The Raja however did not finish his intended buildings at Sungei Mas as will appear afterwards.

CHAPTER VII.

His highness set about building the fort and palace at Sungei Mas. But while so engaged he was suddenly seized with an illness which soon proved fatal. He was succeeded by his son *Wong Maha Prit Durya*—and the government was carried on by him and his ministers, and other officers agreeably to royal usages. The new Raja did not approve of the spot which had been selected at Sungei Mas, for a fort.

His highness was wicked and mischievous, and gave himself up almost entirely to jungle sports ; and passing up and down the river in search of some favorable spot for the formation of a fort and palace, and a new town or settlement for his people. It was not long before he pitched upon a spot below the river district, and so near to the sea that the noise of the waves beating on the shore could be distinctly heard there. But the qualla or embouchure [of some stream our author seems to mean] which was *in* the sea there, was at some distance from the spot selected, although fish could be conveyed up to the latter in a fresh state. Here at length the new settlement or seat of government was established with a fort and palace and town.

It was agreed upon in consultation between the Raja and his four ministers, and other chiefs, that a deputation should be sent to Acheh, in order to obtain hewn stones, carved with flowered patterns, to be used in the construction of the fort, for Acheh was a celebrated

place for its numerous stone cutters and gravers. Envoys were accordingly selected by the four ministers and embarked on board a prahu, in which was an assortment of merchandize, and also some presents. These chiefs prepared the letter for the Raja of Acheh by order of Maha Prit Durya. In this the prince of that country was requested to accept of the gifts and complimentary presents, and to send back a supply of rare and well carved stones of the kind required; adding that the price was no consideration in the present instance.

Now this Raja Prit Durya was every ambitious to have his fort adorned with rare *stones and brilliant* mirrors. But his tyranny became daily more grievous. He heeded no one but imprisoned and put in chains whoever fell under his displeasure.

The Raja called his fort Kota Aur [i. e. the fort of the variegated bamboo] because the vicinity afforded forests of that tree.

The Raja then mounted his elephant one day and accompanied by all his court set out on a tour of inspection of the coast along the main land. He wished to see the islands lying off the shore, and the large extent of land which had already been left by the recession of the sea. His followers found many wild fruits which they ate.

Pulo Srai had by this time become part of the main land and was called Gunong Jerrei. *Pulo Jumbul* also had become attached to the main shore, and was then some way inland, and it got the name of *Bukit Jumbul*. There was also Pulo Giryang nearly in the middle, and also Pulo Tunjong, both of which had been annexed to the main land, also by the receding

of the sea, and lay some distance inland. His highness proceeded round Gunong Jerrei straight to the main land.

In the meanwhile the elephant Kamala Jauhari arrived from Patani, bringing with her a young one of great size, and amidst the large concourse of people who surrounded the Raja she was recognized by one of the old ministers. "My liege, said he, addressing his highness the Raja," here is the supernaturally gifted elephant, of old called Kamala Jauhari, come from Patani," His highness waved his hand, and alighted from his elephant. When Kamala Jauhari and her young elephant saw this action of the Raja, then they raised their trunks above their heads and came running into the presence of the Raja, and made obeisance just as if they had been men. His highness patted them on their heads and trunks, saying, "Oh Kamala Jauhari! when did you arrive from the Patani country." The sensible animal on hearing this question took up a leaf of a tree and breaking it into two pieces gave them to the Raja, implying thereby that she had arrived just half a day back from that moment. Now in those days no animal could be found possessed of the gift of speech, so the elephant adopted signs. [The Mahometans believe that animals once on a time could speak.] So his highness named the younger elephant Pulang Hari, upon which it nodded its head in assent.

The Raja then bid Kamala Jauhari convey him into the forest in quest of fruits. So on they went followed by the whole cavalcade, shouting, and hunting all kinds of game. What numbers of animals were hunted by the Raja and caught by the aid of the two Patani ele-

phants, and what quantities of the flesh were dried, besides what were consumed on the spot, when the party halted for the night. The ponds and pools afforded plenty of fish too, for sport, and for curing. The whole multitude was loaded with game ; and the elephants, what quantities of dried meat and fruit did they not carry away ? After ten days had been spent in this manner, the Raja returned to his hall and palace, on the elephant Jauhari. The game and fruits and dried fish on the elephants were then deposited in the palace. His highness next directed the female attendants to bring out plenty of dishes of rice and fried fruits, and preserves, for the two elephants. After this they went away straight to Gunong Jerrai, and they caused the Raja and his four ministers to dream that they, the two elephants, would be found either at that mountain or at Patani, and that should the Raja or his ministers require them they must burn incense and fragrant gums, and offer sinto and lime juice, and invoke the names of the two elephants. [12].

NOTES.

[12] The following observations may serve to illustrate the foregoing paragraphs:—

The expedition to Achin appears to have been the first one undertaken from Kedda. I have found in various directions sculptured stones of the kind now worked in Achin. But the quantity imported in one or two small prahus must have been very insignificant, and I suppose therefore that these stones were only intended to embellish porticos, or to be used as capitals or bases to pillars of ordinary architecture. The stone is called by our author "hill

rock." The slabs I have found consist of granite, sand stone and clay and chlorite slate.

The outlines of Raja Bersiyong's fort are still to be traced on the north bank of the Muda river, and I many years ago excavated several mounds scattered near the opposite bank, in the British territory, and found them to be the ruins of temples dedicated to the Buddhist and Hindoo worship combined, although I suspect Siva was held the most honoured shrine. I have followed the track of the Raja in his excursion round Gunong Jerrei, and the appearance of the country verifies the description given. The forests here abound in flowering trees, many of which bear edible fruits, and game is plentiful. But vension is the flesh generally most prized by the Malays as game.

It is dried in the sun as here described, and sold in the bazaars. Dried buffalo flesh and salted ducks' eggs form still a part of the exports from Kedda. I have appended a sketch to shew what I apprehend to have been the extent of country occupied by the Hindu Rajas.

The account of Kota Aur is quite correct. By the sinuosities of the Muda river, then called "the river," the distance of the sea must have been a pull of perhaps three hours, while in a direct line the sea could and now can be reached in less than an hour.

CHAPTER VIII.

It must not be forgotton that all this while the inhabitants of Kedda were seized, put in chains, or imprisoned at the caprice of the Raja. The four ministers were exceedingly vexed at these manifestations of the Raja's disposition, for he had become very violent in his temper, and disdained to follow the wise counsels, and system of ruling, of his ancestors.

Now his highness had married a lady, the daughter of a *Malayan* Raja [still no name.] She was handsome, and moreover much liked, so that all those who had complaints to make preferred them to her. The mantris were also much attached to her; and sent their wives and children to visit her, to try and persuade her husband the Raja to have more forbearance towards his subjects.

At this time the prahu returned from Acheh bringing various kinds of cut, and carved stones, for the building of the fort. These stones were of *mountain rock*. So the men worked on.

One day while his highness was holding his Court, he requested an old minister to approach his person, when he thus addressed him, "I pray you, my lord, to inspect my teeth for I feel an irritation in the places of the two side teeth [a] like the symptoms of tooth cutting." The old mantri (laconically) replied. "Tusks, your highness." "How can that be, said the

[a] "Gigi manis,"—I interpret this "canine teeth."

latter laughing ; if these are to be tusks, why did they not appear along with my other teeth when I was young." "But, said another minister, if your highness will permit me, pray what food does your highness most approve of ?" Amang Maha Prit Durya laughed and rejoined. "As to my meals I eat a stew or curry of leechek," that is a dish of the *stalks* of greens stewed and curried down with their leaves. "Your highness, observed the minisetr, would find advantage in leaving off eating this dish of greens ; as they are apt, if used frequently, to produce worms in the teeth." "This may all be very well my lord, but I have been used to this kind of dish from my youth upward, and cannot now give it up."

Then all held their tongues, but each one of the assembly was now aware that the tusks of the Raja had appeared. So they called him the Raja Bersiyong or Bi-siyong, or the *tusked Raja*. Raja Bersiyong continued daily to attend the workmen at his fort until the sun was high, when he took the bath and then went to his breakfast. It happened one day that his highness's cook was preparing the accustomed dish of curried greens for his breakfast. In this process she accidentally cut her finger, but in tying the slight wound quickly up, she did not perceive any blood. So she put all the condiments into the pot with the greens, and set the latter on fire. While stirring the curry it happened that a single drop of blood fell unintentionally from her finger into the pot. Even had she desired to cook another dish, she had no time for it, because the Raja was ready to eat his breakfast. So she hurriedly put the dish of greens into the

bichana or tray and sent it up to Raja Bisiyong, who partook of the rice and the curried or stewed greens ; and mixed his rice with the liquid portion of the curry. His highness relished this dish exceedingly, as it was sweeter and more savoury than any that had previously been prepared for him. So after he had finished the whole, washed his hands, and eaten betel, he drew his sword and exclaimed, " where is the cook who dressed the curry "? When the cook came before him, he enjoined *her* to faithfully tell him with what condiments she had seasoned the curry he had just eaten, so as to make it so superior to all her previous culinary performances, for added his highness, " if you do not fully acquaint me, you die instantly by the edge of this sword " The cook who was a woman, reflected in her mind, that death would be certain whether she told the truth or not, and that it would be best to speak the truth at once ; which she accordingly did, throwing herself on the Raja's mercy. His highness thereupon sheathed his sabre, and said to the cook— " Well if this be the case, it is all right." He then rose and proceeded to the audience hall, and called aloud, " where is the captain (pang-hulu) of the life-guards ? When the captain arrived, his highness said to him—" Is the person under my sentence for *impalement* for this day still unexecuted." The other replied in the affirmative. Then said the Raja, " take this cup, and after filling it with his blood, bring it back quickly to me." The guardsman did as commanded, the man was executed by him, and the cup of blood was delivered to his highness. No sooner had he got the cup into his hand then he went to the kitchen, and ordered the

cook to dress a dish of curried greens or spinach without delay. When the whole had been about half prepared on the fire, the Raja came close up himself, and asked the cook what quantity of blood she had dropped from her finger into the former dish. She replied about a drop. So he increased the quantity to three drops which he put into the pot, and then returned to his dining room. He enjoyed this second dish far more than the preceding one. Accordingly on the morrow he had another person executed, and got a curry made of his *heart and blood*, and he directed the blood to be poured out and a sauce to be made of it.

The Raja found all this a great improvement to the relish of his meals, and so it became his daily custom to have such dishes served up to him. All other food he loathed, and he went on until he had fairly cleared his jail, and absorbed all the out of jail prisoners who were in chains or in the stocks. It mattered not to Raja Bersiyong, whether the delinquencies of these men were trifling or of magnitude, all of them were sacrificed to his horrid gluttony. But he had no intention to stop here, after he had thus exhausted his stock of criminals, he had some person seized daily to supply his meals. It soon however become known to all, that the Raja had become an eater of human hearts and blood, and the prime ministers became sadly affected when crowds of people came to complain to them. Here one had lost a father, there a sister or a wife or other near relative, whose *flesh, hearts and blood*, Raja Bersiyong had devoured. [13]

There was a man named Gumpar of Sri Gunong Ledang hill, a consummate villain. He

was versed in all kinds of knowledge, good and bad ; and his body was impervious to steel. Now this fellow being confident of his own skill permitted himself to be seized by the Raja's people.

On account of his thus putting himself in the way of being seized, people thought that he had slain a man ; he was for the supposed offence carried before the Raja, who no sooner beheld him than he rushed down within his drawn sword in his hand, and ordered him to be killed. Gumpar exclaimed—" This Raja does not justly examine into cases, but sits quietly down and orders people to be slain."

The Raja being enraged at this speech, approached Gumpar, sword in hand, cut him down. " Is Raja Birsiyong mad, that he wishes to inflict punishment before he has examined the charge against me ?" said Gumpar.

When the Raja heard these expressions, made as if with the intent to provoke him to eat men's hearts and blood, his sword descended swiftly on the body of Gumpar cutting away all the fastenings which held him, but without inflicting any wound on his person. Gumpar laughed and said, " your highness will have a full feast to-day on my heart and blood, will you ?" Quickly then did Birsiyong cut again at Gumpar, but he missed him. Then he cut and slashed away, but Gumpar smiled and remained unhurt and immovable. The Raja called out then to all his people to slay the man. So they came and stabbed and cut at Gumpar with all kinds of weapons, but made no impression upon his person. " See," said Gumpar laughing, " this mad Raja trying to get my heart and blood, but cannot succeed ! perhaps he may

get the heart and blood of some beast instead."

The Raja not listening to this language, again tried to kill Gumpar with a spear, and all his people assisted in thrusting and cutting at him; there was a great hubbub, and people outside of the fort were astonished to learn that there was a smoking within it. Gumpar was hard pressed, but he now turned his body a little and assumed the shape of a boar of immense size and having prodigious tusks, and rushed with speed between the legs of Raja Bersiyong, who was thus rolled over, and whose spear was broken, and its head snapped off in two. But that huge boar was not wounded. The boar again ran straight at the Raja, who however did not receive any wound, his clothes only being torn and scattered. So Bersiyong snatched his sword once more to try his strength, for he cared not for his own person, and hundreds came to his assistance. The boar feeling himself rather getting the worst of it, suddenly stirred and shook his head and body, and became a fearful tiddong silla or hooded snake, the girth of which was that of a coconut tree, whose tongue was lolling out, and whose eyes were large as cymbals.

The people amazed, dispersed, only a few daring persons remained and beat the snake. Men again assembled in greater numbers with loud shouts and noise to destroy the snake. The latter pursued the Raja who sought for shelter behind a tree. And now arrived the four ministers with the government officers and numbers of attendants; who drawing their swords entered the fort to arrest the tumult. The snake did not like this accession to his

opponents, so he converted himself into a very fierce royal tiger of great size and length, and then roared tremendously like thunder, or the noise of the day of judgment, nothing in reality could be louder, while it was also mixed with the cries of men. So the crowd dispersed.

The four mantris hereupon presented their blunderbusses [b] at the body of the tiger, which although it was not wounded, felt very much *pained*, and all the balls glanced off his person. This attack made the tiger seek safety in flight. Having sprung towards the fort-gate and got safely out, he escaped to the forest without being seriously injured. [14].

The four chiefs having thus by one discharge each, driven off the tiger, proceeded towards the hall of audience, to see if there was any one else fighting, and on their way they found the Raja concealed and destitute of clothes behind the tree. They gave him part of their dresses and escorted him into the audience hall. Here they had all the broken arms collected, and here they learned the cause of the uproar, and the real conduct of the Raja, and his horrid propensity to eat the hearts and blood of his subjects, whether they were criminals or innocent persons, and that he had quite abandoned himself to this anthropophagism.

The four ministers having consulted amongst themselves, proceeded one *night* into the Raja's presence, who just come out to hold his court. These ministers thus spoke—"May it please your highness to cease from slaying your subjects in this manner. We have constant and

[b] Of course this is an embellishment of the historian as the blunderbuss was not known to the Malays until the advent of the Portuguese.

loud complaints from mothers and fathers, brothers and sisters, of your cruel behaviour." "My lords, I desire that you will not again address me on this subject. I am resolved to continue executions as hitherto." "If this be your majesty's sentiments, then it is plain that some time hereafter our own families and descendants will be sacrificed. When your highness shall have driven all the strangers out of Kedda, and the ryots shall have sought safety in other countries, where then, may we ask your highness, will you find people to attend you and obey your behests? Where, we ask, after you shall have eaten the flesh, hearts and blood of the remnant that may have not escaped?" "If replied the Raja, it should thus come to pass and that I shall be left alone, what can I say then, but that I must patiently continue alone. If I cannot find people to kill, then I will leave off the custom you complain against" "If your highness determines thus to persist in opposing us four, we have no course open, but to oppose and resist your highness, for no such *practice as that of eating the flesh, hearts and blood of men, was ever heard of from the days of your forefathers up to your highness's reign.*"

"Well, my lords, if it is your intention to attack and try to kill me, then we shall resist you to the utmost of our power." The four chiefs herenpon descended from the audience hall; and while so doing said to his highness—"We advise your highness to strengthen the defences of the fort and ditch, for we will certainly attack you, and this be assured will we do without fail." Raja Bersiyong now entered his palace and acquainted his wife and con-

cubines, and all the inmates and persons present, with the intended attack of the ministers and the alleged cause for it. He also directed all his officers who were in the fort to have the *guns* ready on the ramparts, and to bring forth and place in readiness all the other arms ; and he especially directed that the *four angles* of the fort should be well manned. Now there were in the fort only about five hundred of the Raja's slaves, servants, and dependants, all ready armed, upon whom he could repose confidence. So he stood prepared to meet the attack.

When the four mantris had reached their houses, they ordered that on the morrow all the able bodied ryots should be assembled from both the upper and lower districts on *the river*. The Gundang Raya, a great drum, was also beaten, such being the signal for the people to collect with arms in their hands. The order was promptly obeyed, because the people individually hated the Raja for his tyranny and cannibal propensity.

The wife of Raja Bersiyong beheld with great anxiety the evils likely to be inflicted on the inmates of the palace, and the people in the fort, on account of the wicked propensity of her husband, and that all were likely to be killed for the fault of one. She therefore selected four dayangs or maids of honour, and despatched them with a message to the four ministers, requesting that they would not destroy the fort and palace or set fire to it, as in such an event, all inside would be killed. This mission the messengers accomplished without the Raja being aware of it. "If your mistress the Raja Perampuan, or queen, said the ministers,

laughing, wishes to save the fort and people she will join us, for we have no fault to find with any one within the walls, excepting Raja Bersiyong, who we intend to kill." "Your lordship's advice will be duly reported," replied the messengers—" But, urged the mantris, you must tell the queen that if she denies to join our party, she must direct that all the guns of the fort shall be loaded with powder only, else there will be slaughter on both sides, and much mischief be experienced hereafter."

The queen entered into the mantris' project with alacrity and good will. She sent for the panghulu of the fort and the captain of the guards to attend her secretly. When her highness met them she said—" Oh panghulus, you are old men, and enjoy the confidence of Raja Bersiyong, you know his present inclinations, and are aware of his acts. The mantris have acquainted me with their wishes," which she here repeated. The two panghulus replied—" Your servants are ready to do what they can, and to consult with all the people in the fort and palace." The queen informed the two chiefs of the communication she had with the four mantris, and what they had advised. The two panghulus took leave promising to attend to the queen's wishes, and meanwhile busied themselves in (apparently) obeying the orders of Raja Bersiyong.

The very numerous forces of the mantris having been all collected and found well armed, they arranged them into four bodies, for each of the four angles of the fort. The war drum was then beaten in order to raise the valour of those who might be afraid. Then the four columns marched at once, and simultaneously

assaulted with terrific shouts, the four angles of the fort. Raja Bersiyong too was not idle, he buckled on his arms, and about his waist he rolled a cashmir shawl which was forty yards long. Around his head he wreathed a twisted fillet of cloth, and he put on his person a gold enamelled kris. A scarf covered his shoulders, the two ends falling down behind, and his jacket was of gold flowered satin of the kind called biji bayan luruh or "scattered seeds of greens." His appearance was surprising, and he looked as if he would set the whole universe on fire. He wielded a barbed and shining spear.

Being fully equipped he rushed out of his palace and along the ramparts, directing the guns to be shotted and fired, and spears, and other missiles to be cast down at the assailants, and all the gates of the fort to be closed and locked. The noise and uproar arising from the combatants at the angles of the fort shook the very walls, while the volumes of smoke from the *unshotted* guns, turned day into night. Thunder could not have been heard amidst such a tumult of combatants. How then could the cries and lamentations of the terrified women and children be heard.

Now the four ministers observed with apprehension, that the ground was quite slippery, so as to prevent their men approaching the walls, until the sharp stakes had all been thrown at them from above. However they were not wounded but only bruised a little by these missiles. The four ministers were greatly enraged and quickly ordered half of their men to go and cut wood in order to make ladders or siggei and torches for scaling the walls. When the men heard this order some of them

staid to fight, another party went to cut the wood required, while a third, which had been just about to climb the wall heeded not the din, but bore the brunt of the attack made on them by those from within the fort.

Those few who succeeded in reaching the top of the wall dropped down again like flowers falling from the branches of a tree, or like children at play. The bright arms flashed like lightning through the murky clouds of smoke, and both sides fought sturdily for seven successive days and nights, deaf to the noise and confusion, and without fear.

Raja Bersiyong supposed that the slaughter all this while must have been great, so he kept fighting. But at the end of the time noticed, the four ministers stormed the wall at the head of their men, with loud shouts and cries. Raja Bersiyong instantly ran hither and thither animating his people to fight the guns, and charge the assailants, but his astonishment and rage became unbounded when he discovered that not a man had been killed on either side; and learning that the four ministers were in search of hin, he quickly fled out of the fort by a small private port in the east face, and escaped into the forest. The minister on hearing of this, settled that two of them should follow the Raja's reported track, and the other two should search for him within the fort, in case the report might be untrue. When Raja Bersiyong heard the clamour of those despatched to kill hin he took to flight in real earnest.

His arms, accoutrements and clothes lay scattered about on the path. In this way he was pursued till next day, when the chase ceased, as the Raja could not be overtaken and

slain. Such being the state of affairs the four chiefs resolved to open the hall of audience to assume the reins of government. So every one returned quietly to his house and business. At that time therefore there was no Raja in Kedda.

But the care and protection of the fort, and the palace and their inmates, devolved on these four mantris, because Raja Bersiyong had neither son nor daughter who might have succeeded him in the government of Kedda.

NOTES.

[13] We are left in the dark as to whom this "Malayan Raja" was. Indeed the locality of the Malays is nowhere mentioned. As our author was a Mahomedan, he and the people were doubtless ashamed of this cannibal propensity in one of the Rajas of their country, and therefore invented the story of his having tushes like the Girgassi to account for it.

This Raja is the only one of the Pagan Kedda family, whose name is familiar to the Kedda Malays of the present day; and he figures as a sort of rawhead and bloody bones, to keep children in order.

We are not to suppose that Raja Bersiyong ate greens only. These formed the chief ingredient in his curry. Female cooks are always employed by the Malays when they are married or can afford it. The wives and female members of a family prepare the food, and the men only cook, when they cannot help it. Occasionally a man may be found who does not use the betel compound, which is generally as indispensable a necessary of life as salt.

It appears that the Captain of the Raja's guard was the executioner, which is the case also in China. [1] In flagrant cases of crime, the Malays of this coast punish by impalement, and also, like the Siamese and Burmese, by cutting open the body from the breast downwards. This last punishment was inflicted by one of the chiefs of Kedda during the rebellion of its Malays against Siam in 1830-31 upon the person of a Bengal man of Pinang, formerly a sepoy in the corps I commanded, who had joined the insurgents but was suspected of treachery.

[14] The whole of this account of Gumpar is merely one of the Malayan modes of describing the acts of a hero. But our author has made the Raja's subjects rather more disposed to assist him than might have been expected from them, liable as they were to be any day served up at the Raja's table. The mention of blunderbusses is quite out of place, as such weapons were certainly not then known.

[1] Davies' China.

CHAPTER IX.

One day the four mantris assembled in council, and resolved to write a letter in their names and in the name of the queen of Raja Bersiyong to the central country (binua) of Siam, to intimate that there was no Raja then ruling in Kedda; and to *request that a Raja might be sought for and vouchsafed for governing Keilda through them the mantris.*

Envoy accordingly proceeded to Siam with a letter to the above effect.

Now it is related that when Raja Bersiyong had escaped and got clear of the forest with the loss of all his arms, he arrived after some time at the hut of a peasant who had a clearance in the forest on the confines of Patani and Kedda, and who there cultivated the betel vine and rice. Of his own accord Raja Bersiyong worn out as he was by hunger and fear, craved permission of the peasant to let him become an inmate of his house, and offering at the same time to assist him in his agricultural labors. The peasant consented, but without knowing the rank of the applicant, for the Raja's tusks were at this time on a level with his other teeth, [our author should have here observed that they were never seen of a greater length, so that the existence of tusks was a mere conjecture and fable, if common sense did not convince him.] So Bersiyong set to work in the farm without any further instructions and was only called for daily by the peasant to receive his meals, after which he worked until the evening. All the profits arising from his labour he gave up to the man and his wife.

Now this peasant had a daughter by the wife who then lived with him, and she was so lovely and graceful that no one could look upon her without falling in love with her. Her neck was slender and graceful, her complexion white mixed with yellow, and her teeth were like the *black* and polished wings of the elephant beetle her waist was delicate and slender, and her ankles were like stalks of paddy. Her like could nowhere be found. Her lineage was that of the Beapari [fairies] and her father was a Raja of inferior note. He was offended with his people and had left them to live with his wife and daughter in the forest at the source of the Kedda river (the Muda). So the pair went to a distance from the crowd to cultivate rice thus far up the Kedda river. It so happened that as the man and his wife were often absent at their grain field, daughter had to supply the Raja with his meals, and thus these two were left at home to cultivate and water the betel vines and other fruit trees. The Raja thus became enamoured of the girl, while she reciprocated his love. So she became his wife without the knowledge of her parents. But after seven months they naturally became aware of the fact. Her father then said to his wife, that he thought it just as well that the girl had selected the stranger, because he was very useful and attentive in his household, and his manners were excellent. His wife remained silent. In time Bersiyong's wife had a son who greatly resembled his father, and it was brought up as if it had been a peasant's child.

Unluckily for Berisyong he was seen by some one who knew him, and when the circumstance was reported to the four ministers they despatch-

ed a hundred men with orders to seize the Raja, and to put him to death if he should resist. When Raja Bersiyong saw the party approaching he threw down his spade, and fled into a thicket of the bamboo called buluh bittong. The pursuers surrounded the brake but could not find the Raja. Now none of them were aware of the marriage of the Raja there, and of his having got a son. So they all returned and reported their want of success to the four ministers. Meanwhile the son of Bersiyong grew apace, and increased in comeliness and quickness of apprehension.

The letter of the four mantris and the queen was delivered in due form to the Raja of Siam. The Raja gave it to a mantri to read, who having opened it, read as follows.

This letter is from your Majesty's very humble slaves the four mantris, and also the queen, of the country of Kedda, in order to make known the state in which Kedda rests at present. It has had no legitimate Raja for a long while, the only rulers being your slaves, the four ministers. We therefore beseech your royal Majesty, to release us from your present charge, by raising to the Government a Raja of pure descent, so that all of us, slaves, may obtain a Raja or ruler, and that the country may be well governed. These observations your slaves submit to your Majesty.

The Raja of Siam having heard the letter thus read, addressed an old mantri. Go, my brother, said he, and call all the clever astrologers. When they came into the presence the Raja said to them, "Inspect the horoscope, and discover where a Raja of Kedda is to be found, and who the person is who is to be raised by me to the

vacant Rajaship of Kedda. The astrologers opened accordingly their book,, and inspected it, then they raised their heads Well said the Raja what is the result ? *O Shah i alum* replied the diviner, the person who should become the Raja of Kedda is living in that country. He alone must be Raja, no one else in or out of Kedda should be raised to that dignity for he is of true lineage, and should any other person be placed in that government, then undoubtedly he would not be able to retain it for more than a year or two at the utmost; either through death or some great convulsion or disturbance, he would be deprived of it If such be the case rejoined the Raja, pray how am I to know where to find him ? The astrologers again looked at their paper or book, and having inspected it has before, said to the Raja, the person is in existence, and his age is about six or seven years. But where shall he be made Raja, he must be first discovered by the intelligence not of man but of animals There is a supernaturally intelligent elephant on the confines of Kedda and Patani, named Kamala Jauhari, which is perhaps able to inform us who shall be the Kedda Raja. So he inquired of the Kedda envoys if they knew any thing about it. They replied that it was wandering alternately in Kedda and Patani, and that it would discover itself by causing some one to dream. The Raja of Siam then sent a letter back by the Kedda envoys to this effect, that the four ministers there should gaily caparison the elephant Kamala Jauhari, and send her in quest of a new Raja, namely the person possessed of a fitting title, to be raised to that dignity, since that very person be found, would be in-

stalled ; and further that when found, his Majesty of Siam would direct his mantris of rank to proceed to Kedda and instal the new Raja in his office. The Siamese Rajah's letter was delivered to the four Kedda chiefs by the envoys on their return, the former, being at the time in full durbar or assembly.

Being much gratified by the contents of the letter, the four mantris concerted with the queen, and that the great audience chamber was adorned with curtains, and wells, and hangings, and various kinds of hanging lamps, and candles and lanterns, so that night was changed into day, and all sorts of rare sports and exhibitions added to the lustre of the fete. Then all the people held a fast for seven days and nights, previous to the setting out of the party in search of a Raja. On the night of seventh day the the dupa and incense were burned and all sorts of perfumes were diffused around, and at the same time, the name of the super-intelligent elephant was invoked to attend upon the four mantris. Immediately almost there was a sound like the rushing of a coming tempest, from the *east*, with earthquake, agitations, and terrific sounds. In the midst of all this uproar the terrified spectators were delighted to see Kamala Jauhari standing at the hall, and thrusting up her trunk into it. The four mantris instantly rubbed her with cosmetics and bathed her with lime juice, while others applied cosmetics and sweet smelling oils rubbing these over its whole body. Then a meal was served up to it, and put into its mouth. The state howdah was now placed on its back, along with all its appurtenances, curtains, and hanging. Then one of the man-

tris read the Raja of Siam's letter close to the ear of Kamala Jauhari, acquainting her that she was expected to assist in finding out a Raja for Kedda by all means. When Jauhari heard all this she bowed her head and played her trunk ; and then set forth in the direction of the east, followed and attended by from three to four hundred men, having banners and flags streaming in the wind, and being supplied with all necessaries and armed with various kinds of spears, held in hand.

The cavalcade so led, soon reached the garden and house where Raja Bersiyong had concealed himself. Now the boy, the son of Bersiyong was in the house at the time, but his mother was in the betel garden ; and her parents were in the rice field. So Kamala Jauhari thrust her trunk into the house to take out the boy, and he seeing this movement and being loosely clothed quickly wrapped around his loins the cloth of forty cubits in length which had belonged to his father. Jauhari then encircled him with her trunk, and placed him on her back in the howdah, and forthwith began to retrace her steps. The boy's mother who had hidden herself through fear, no sooner found him gone, than she followed the foot-marks of the elephant, and she was kept on the right track by finding, here and there a piece of cloth, part of that long wrapper of her husband, which her son was tearing up for the purpose of thus pointing out to her the way.

The party returned safe, and were received amidst loud rejoicings. The mantris had the boy dressed quickly in royal robes ; and they put on his head a crown of gold set with pre-

cious stones, such as great Rajas were wont to appear in, all which much improved his otherwise handsome features and person. Then the mantris placed him in the seat formerly used by Raja Bersiyong. Then all the ministers and officers of state, and the whole people great and small, made obeisance to the young Raja, saying—Prosperity to your highness, may it ever be on the increase, may no accident interrupt the happy tenor of your highness's life but may your graceful manners continue to improve, and your countenance ever beam with happiness. Now all present were quite surprised at the readiness with which the boy assumed courtly manners, it seemed as if he had been accustomed to hold his court there. The mantris after this took hold of the boy's hands, two on each side of him, and led him to the apartment of the putri, Raja Bersiyong's consort, who was delighted to find him so like Raja Bersiyong, but when she and her attendants saw the cloth, part of which he still retained, on his person, which Bersiyong used to wear, than they could not contain their joy. She then on finding that the boy's mother had followed him, sent out some of her women to look for her. They found her below a large banyan tree close to the fort gate. The maid carried her to the queen, who said, "Come here my sister and sit near me, and tell me if this boy be your son." Replying affirmatively, every attention and respect was paid to her. So the queen instructed the youth in all the duties and behaviour required of him in his exalted station. The mantris also took him to the council, and to the audience chamber to learn how to govern.

And when the youth had grown up, one of the old mantris out of his great regard for the youth, gave to him in marriage, his daughter, a lovely girl, for this mantri was the son of an inferior Raja, and descended from one of the four mantris who had originally gone to Siam to form a new country of *Tiga Buah or three parts* and also to Perak and Patani, in short descended from the mantris of Marong Mahawangsa. [14]

NOTES.

[14] Were a Malayan subject of any Malayan country of the present day to write a history and comment on it as our author does on the actions of its princes he would most likely be slain. Hence after the conversion to Islamism we have hardly any thing more but a meagre list of the Kedda chiefs or Rajas. The four ministers of the Rajas appear to have had little influence until the acts of the latter had become so tyrannical that they were forced to rule with an outraged people. In the states of Perak and Achin the ministers have generally usurped all real power, and have left the Rajas in possession of an empty title, one however to which owing to their clannish feelings, the Malays will always pay respect. "It is not" observes the Malacca native annalist, the *custom* "for Malays to commit treason."

A Malay living under European rule often considers that oppression, which under the sway of a native chief he would cheerfully submit to.

Our author delights in bringing guns into the field, but long, I suspect, before they were known to the people of this coast. I will ad-

vert to this further on. The Gundang Raja or great drum is yet in use at the palaces of Malayan Rajas, and is to be found, but of a lesser size, at all the mosques where it is beaten on Fridays. It is part of a tree hollowed out with one end covered by a dried buffalo hide.

The sham fight here described was got up by the chiefs or ministers, who might just as well have marched into the fort at once. It was to save appearances of treason on the one hand and pusillanimity in a Raja on the other. The maids of honour to the princess, were as in more civilized regions, the wives and daughters of the aristocracy.

Raja Bersiyong would not have been content with "setting the Thames on fire" for our author says that when dressed and accoutred for the fight he looked as if he "would set the *universe* on fire." The parallelism of the two ideas is however curious. The intercourse of Kedda with India gave him his cashmere shawl, and perhaps other portions of his dress.

I extract from the "Malayan annals" a description of a fashionably attired man of rank. "He had anklets of gold called koronchong or hollow bracelets of gold, ornamented with silver. Petam Ponto, which were armlets shaped like a snake in its hole ready to dart at its victim and set with gems. The less wealthy used a baser metal, or meroly a blue glass ring, like those worn by the women of India at this day. Before the Raja, there was borne the gongam or golden casket, containing his betel mixture &c."

Here is a description from the same work, of the dress of a Malayan exquisite of rank of the thirteenth century. He wore a sagara gunong with bees flowered on the wing. A green

flowered vest, and bracelets (of gold) on his arms. He carried in his hand a nosegay composed of the saman rasa wali and champaka flowers, and he was perfumed with a scented flower. His teeth were *white* as the bunga sri gading, or ivory flower, and his cheek was red like the catera leaf.

It would be difficult to find a Malay in these days with either white teeth or rosy cheeks. Neither staining of the teeth, therefore, nor the use of the betel mixture as it is now used, would seem to have then been in *fashion* during Sultan Mahomed's reign in Malacca, and the teeth of a skull of the earlier period of Kedda found by me in the ruins of a mausoleum of note were neither filed nor stained. The Bindahara or Commander-in-Chief wore a bunch of flowers in his hair, and he had a coat with long sleeves, made from four cubits of cloth, (six yards if the cubit was a short one and eight to twelve feet if a long one). He used to change his dress four or five times during the day, employing a *mirror as tall as himself*, and while dressing he used to ask his wife to tell him how his dress became him. He had a number of turbans always lying ready rolled out to be put on. Moreover this military fop "used the exercise of the *swing*."

Sultan Mahomed wrote to the Kling country or the Coromandel Coast for forty webs of different sorts of chintz, each sort to have forty different kinds of flowering.

The Malays of the present day dress very variously, but almost all of them are distinguished by the sarong, a piece of chequered cotton or silk cloth joined together at the ends ; and being passed over the head, it is then

fastened round the waist, with the skirts descending half way down the calf of the leg, or crossed over the body like the highlander's plaid. The Bencoolen Malays appear to dress with more taste than most of the other tribes.

In the Sanscrit and Hindu inscriptions of Bakergang in Bengal 120 miles east of Calcutta which refers to the numerous battles of the prince no mention is made of fire arms. Bows, arrows, and swords only are named. This was about A. D. 1136, and the same omission was in a Sanscrit inscription at Kaira in Gujerat, but of doubtful state [1] As to mirrors they must have been brought by the Arabs, and were probably of Venetian manufacture.

It appears that Kedda was now left for some years without a head. It was so for seven years if we are to be guided by the age of Raja Bersiyong's son when he was raised to the seat of authority. But after all the fuss which was made about this Raja's tusks ; they never protruded beyond his lips. The four chiefs governed during that period with the advice seemingly of the Queen's mother as she was consulted when the letter was written to Siam. The term applied to the wife of the Raja, is Raja perampuan, literally female Raja. When the Raja is independent it was Queen Regent. The Siamese have from a remote period employed Brahmans for astrological purposes and to inspect the horoscope.

It may be proper to remark here that where our author puts Persian or Arabic expressions into the mouths of his interlocutors, we must, I think, give to him the sole credit of them, at least until the period of the conversion of the

people to Islamism. Raja Bersiyong disappeared and was never again heard of, at least our author never again mentions him as if alive. Hence whenever at this day the outline of any old fort exists on this coast, and the Malays are asked about its origin. they at once assign it to the above Raja. We find Siam now called Tiga Buah Nigri—the three countries, meaning, I suppose upper, central and lower Siam.

CHAPTER X.

It is related that there was a Raja named Kalana Hetam, who resided in a small island called Pulo Ayer Tawar, or "*the island of the fresh water*"—because it was surrounded by a lake of fresh water. * The situation of this island is to the east of the country of Kalungi. Now this country of Kalungi would not submit to the sway of the *south*, or Siam, nor would the latter acknowledge its superiority. Accordingly he [the Raja of Kalungi doubtless] began to assemble a body of men from many different tribes, such as the Samang, the Bila, otherwise *Hill Bila* and *Ryots*, and the Hill Ryots. He gave titles to all the chiefs of these tribes, and ordered them to assemble around the lake with their respective forces. There were present Maha Raja Dar ul Alum, who commanded the Samangs, and Maha Raja Dar ul Salam, who had command of the Bila. Then the Captain of the Hill Ryots was named Dar ul Gunong, and the chief of the Sakai tribe he named Maha Raja Jakjakucha Raja.

All being thus ready, the Raja Kalana Hetam sent for these four warriors, and said that he wished to go in search of some more eligible spot to reside in than his present one. Maha

* I am not aware of any lake being in that direction, although I travelled up to the mountains, the barrier towards Siam. There is on the map a small lake not named with a town called *Gnangrue* marked down. I passed up the river leading to it from Kret stockade, but was brought up by rapids. There may be a lake perhaps, or an island of the Martaban river may have been meant.

Raja Dar ul Alum represented thus—"Some people belonging to your slave have lately come back from the direction of S. S. E. where there is a country called Kedda having a very fertile soil, and which is defended by a fort with a ditch. It has no Raja at this moment. It is my opinion, therefore, that it will be very advisable that your highness should take possession of this region and become its Raja, for it is very populous." 'Yes,' replied Kalana, 'provided there be the means. If there are any old chiefs or mantris in Kedda I can write a letter to them in the first instance to ask them to join in letting me be its Raja.' 'Your slave,' said Maha Raja Dar ul Gunong, 'respectfully submits, that if you really desire to govern Kedda, your highness should at once proceed there, what use is there in sending notice beforehand? If the Kedda people will not have you, we can take the country by force. Have no apprehensions on that score—what signifies it to us what their fighting salient population may be?' 'My opinion' said Jakjakucha Raja' is that we should march our forces at once on Kedda; and then if successful, that we should send for all our families and people and property. So the force was got ready and properly armed. There were fire arms and all the men had swords, pikes, lances, shields of different sizes and forms, joepan swords, bows and arrows, and poisoned arrows blown through tubes, and slings, with stones to cast forth from them. The expedition was thus equipped and ready to march in the space of a month, and then set out with Kalana Hetam at its head, like the foam crested waves of the sea. The numbers were so great of these four tribes, that it took a month to ac-

complish an ordinary day's march. The high ground became level, and the level was converted into holes like game traps, so heavy was the tread of the ranks.

In the first place.—It was not long after the departure of the Kedda envoys from Siam and their arrival again at Kedda, that the Raja of Siam directed one of his old ministers, named *Kalahom*, who had been employed in settling the countries to the east [of Siam perhaps] to proceed to Kedda to search for a legitimate Raja to govern it. The envoy was escorted by a number of Rajas and followers, and he was the bearer also of a written scroll, containing the titles to be bestowed upon the new Raja, and he was instructed to consult with the four Kedda mantris, and to be guided as far as practicable by their wishes. The envoy then left for Kedda, and by how many tens of thousands of armed men was he attended, and how many mountains did he cross, and plains and forests did he pass over ? The march too was enlivened by all sorts of field sports. Whenever he halted , his men erected temporary huts and shelter for themselves and the chiefs.

One day the whole cavalcade debouched from the forest into a plain to the *westward of the country of Ligor*. Kalahom soon perceived an armed force on its march there, rolling on like waves of the sea, so he directed people to go and inquire from whence this body had come, where it was proceeding to, what its leader's name was ; and what the title of his Raja. The messenger set forward and met with the force of Sakai under *Jakjakucha*. When the Sakai heard these questions they gave the information required, while Kalahom's party

acquainted them, in reply to similar questions, who he was, and the intent of his march.

When Kalahom learned the nature and destination of the opposite force, he ordered the gongs and drums to be beaten, and having halted, he ordered the usual temporary shelter for his troops to be constructed. The Sakai General did the same, so that both bodies were encamped opposite to and in sight of each other. Kalana Hetam was much surprised to see his advance come to a halt, at such an early hour in the morning, but when he heard the name of the Siamese General *Kalahom* he directed a halt of all his forces. Kalahom then sent off an express to Siam to report the occurrence, and to inform the Raja that he was going to fight the enemy *below* the country of Ligor.

The messenger travelled with all speed towards Siam, he stopped not by day nor by night. Kalahom then sent a letter to Kalana Hetam to direct him to return to his own country and not to go on to Kedda, because that country had a Raja already, and as he, Kalahom, was by order of the Raja of Siam now proceeding to Kedda to instal the new Raja and confer upon him his proper titles.

The messenger found the opposite party inclosed by a square intrenchment of mud or earth, with proper guards at the four corners or angles, all ready posted, and on presenting themselves at the gate, were soon called before Kalana Hetam. Having squatted down and saluted him, and after having been asked what was their business, they delivered Kalahom's message. When Kalana Hetam heard the order to return home he became enraged, and his face grew red like the colour of boonga

raya (1) while he exclaimed.—'In what game have I ever been foiled ? and in what battle have I ever been worsted ? or in what day of battle and slaughtering have I ever turned my back on thy master Kalahom ? It is not right, is it, that I should be Raja of Kedda ? If I cannot become its Raja by fair means, I will do so at the *point of my weapons*. I cannot for a moment think of retracing my march, for it would be an unusual proceeding and unworthy of one born of a man to show his back ; on the contrary I must go forward. Tell then thy chief that if he shall attempt to stop, and intercept us on this our march to Kedda, let him come forth on the plain and give battle, and try us, and see how we can thrust and stab. Whether thy master may choose to-morrow or to-day, is immaterial to us, he may please himself, we shall be ready to receive him, for we have come for the sole purpose of seeking occasions for fighting and proving the strength of our arms.'

Kalahom could hardly repress his indignation at the insolence of Kalana Hetam. But as his force was too small to allow him to accept the challenge, he forthwith entrenched himself, and at the same time sent orders to the *Rajas of the several provinces nearest to him*, to collect their contingents with all speed and join him, which was accomplished. He then directed Phra Ong Surin, who was the son of a Raja, to assume charge of the night to send out patrols, and to proceed round the fort, making a loud noise, by shouting and beating of gongs, drums, and other noisy instruments. The circuit having thus

(1) *Hibiscus rosa sinensis*—L. *Hibiscus malvarosa* Bat. Trans. vol. V. (Marsd- Dicq. p. 144.)

been performed thrice nightly, the patrols stopped at a certain place where Phra Surin rested on a high seat. Kalana Hetam hearing the noisy invitation to try his strength with Kalaholm, imitated his example, and the uproar was astounding. It ceased not until the Lady Queen Shuhrin had retired to repose in her palace in the west, and the king of the world seated on his throne had given audience on the edge of the horizon. Then poured forth the hosts of both Generals on the plain, where each formed his line.

Kalahom first directed Phra Ong Surin to arrange the order of battle. So he placed in their proper positions all the Rajas, champions, chiefs and warriors ; classed under the name of *jigur rjungi* (a), Phra Ong Surin had charge of the right wing, and Phra Ong Kurin of the left, while Raja Angkonerat commanded the centre or main body. The rear was under Phra Ong Wa Tang Ta. Kalana Hetam drew up his army thus—Maha Raja Dar ul Alum commanded the right wing, and Maha Raja Dar ul Gunong, with Kalana Hetam and all the champions held the main body or centre. Maha Raja Jakjakucha Raja had charge of the rear [tail.]

Then was heard the loud defiance from both sides, while the opposing lines, with clashing of arms, rushed to the charge. Man encountered man, and weapons rung upon weapons, like the claws of *fighting scorpions*. The main body fought thus so closely that the rear lines of each force came in contact also. Neither party would give way, but waved backwards and forwards, whirling round and round, slashing and

(a) *Jigin junge.* are Persian words, *jigor* liver, anger, *jungi* warlike.

cutting, and mixing confusedly in fight, while the clash of arms was loud and terrible. The cowardly were also heard complaining and screaming like the *riyang* (b). Such was the tumult caused by the shock of battle, when the champions encountered, that it resembled thunder and a tempest, and when joined to the roar of the elephants and the neighing of horses, and the beating of war drums, resembled the noise of waves lashing against the rocks. What quantities of broken arms strewed the plain after this onset !

Clouds of dust also arose and converted day into night. The ensigns of the contending parties were observed, while the standards shone conspicuously. Now beneath that or an umbrella, was a short man encased in an iron chain coat of mail, who was amusing himself by exhibiting Burmese warlike gestures [a practice common to Peguans.] He was elevated on a sora [some fabulous animal], and filled with consternation all those who beheld him. This chief was the Girgassi Raja Sang Wira Angkara. He had three brothers in the fight. One was tall and stout, and he rode on a Walmana [this is a fabulous animal said to resemble an elephant with tusk and a proboscis, with the feet and body of a horse and having wings, he has scalos according to some like armour] endowed with preternatural faculties. He was armed with a *badamkel* and was frightful to look on. He was named Phra Sang Dati Kosa. The next one rode on a flying camel and grasped the preternatural chakra (c) along with his other war ac-

(b) Cicada.

(c) A discus, Siamese word.

coutrements. His name was Phra Sang Chi Sim. Then came the last brother who bestrode a fierce lion, and bore in his hand the preternatural bow and arrows. His name was Phra Sang Mang So Pia (*d*). When these mighty warriors appeared on the field of battle the contending armies of one accord suspended the contest and sent to inquire who they were, and who was their Rajas, and from whence they had come. They replied, "We are commanders of the forces of the Girgassi Raja who have come here by orders of the King of Siam to aid his General Kalahom, and to seize the chief of the enemy and take them as prisoners to Siam."

When this reply had been reported, then the Girgassi Sang Wira Angkara directed all his forces to rush on those of Kalana Hetam, and not to turn to the right or to the left. So they turned the position of Kalana and took him in the rear. But he divided his forces into two columns or lines, directing one to contend in front, the other to oppose this attack on his rear. Thus Kalana's force was placed in jeopardy. Again the battle raged amidst clouds of dust. Forty war umbrellas were thrown down by the crowd of combatants, and were destroyed in the rush against Kalaua's line, while the standards streamed out. Dire was the shock when they reached the enemy who were thus hemmed in by the Siamese forces. But still they kept their ground, nor did any one turn his head. Now many of this Kalana Hetem's men were invulnerable to steel, because they were tattooed with black (figures) over their bodies (*e*). They were also very obstinate and brave.

(*d*) Perhaps also of Hindu origin.

(*e*) The Burmese tattooed their bodies at a very early period, the Peguans did not until a much later one.

When Maha Raja Dar ul Alum and Dar ul Salam observed this condition of affairs they got enraged and plunged amidst the Girgassis without caring for consequences. Heaps of Girgassi now lay on the ground weltering in blood, which was flowing here and there, floating away even the bodies of the dead.

Now the troops of Phra Ong Surin and Raja Phra Ong Kurin being exhausted, gave way, and were pressed hard by the men of Kalana Hetam, but the retreat was gradual, for Kalana's forces were themselves threatened in their rear. Then the three thousand heroes of the four Girgassi chiefs precipitated themselves upon the five thousand heroes and other soldiers of Dar ul Alum. Here there was much slaughter amongst the Samang and Bila soldiers, whose bodies lay in heaps like small hills. So that part of Kalana Hetam's force was routed and fled behind the five thousand. Thus only heroes were opposed to heroes. [Here the same metaphors are used as before.] At length the heroes of the Samang and Bila could hold out no longer but gave way like goats before tigers. But three thousand held their ground under the command of three chiefs. Their order however had been by this time broken, while the second or rear line was also broken. They, however, rallied and attacked the Girgassis, and after slaying a few of them they met the commander of the heroes whose name was Jangi Kala, also the officers named respectively Perjungkala, Kirchangkala, and Hassingkala. All of these chiefs were armed with maces. Then came Pakerma Bukit, chief of the Samang, who encounterd in single combat Jangi Kala, and Sri Nairat Gunong, who was the chief of

of the Bila, who fought with Perjangkala mace to mace. Next Maha Biru Gunong came. He was chief of the Samangs, and he engaged Perjangkala. So hero were six heroes engaged in mortal combat with their maces, three against three.

Now the five other chiefs of the Girgassi plunged into the midst of the three thousand Samangs and Bila. The forces of Dar ul Gunong and Jakjakucha Raja were broken by the onset of Phra Ong Kunai Rat and Phra Ong Tang Ta, and Phra Angsurin and Phra Ong Kurin, assisted by all the newly arrived Rajas. It was like the flacking of cotton, so quickly did they come on. For the four Siamese Rajas advanced to the charge in front of their troops, and struck into the centre of the enemy. They would not even wait for their officers, who followed at a distance. [It would be difficult to catch a Siamese or Burmese or Peguan officer in these degenerate days leading his men to battle. They prefer looking on at a pretty safe distance.] None could withstand this prowess of the five chiefs. When Dar ul Gunong and Jakjakucha Raja and the Panglimas Dara Bukit and Nara Gunong and Pakerma Alum and Pakerma Dewa and Mangan Udara observed the disorder and dispersion of their force before these warriors ; they became furious and quickly confronted in person the enemy and advanced on the host of the latter. These six chiefs encountered the four Siamese Rajas, who were busy making prisoners. Then Panglima Dara Bukit cast his spear at Phra Ong Kunai Rat, but missed killing him as he was invulnerable. The latter leapt up and

fought with his sword (f). Panglima Dar ul Gunong encountered Raja Phra Ong Tang Ta, and both fought stoutly with clubs. Panglima Pakerma Ahim met Phra Sang Data Kosa, [a Siamese title], and they combat-ed with maces, and Panglima Pakerma Dewa, encountered Phra Ong Kurin, and they fought with spears, Panglima Mangan Udara met Phra Maha Pho Di and they used daggers, and closed on each other ; seizing each other around the waist. Panglima Mangan Indra fell in with Phra Ong Chao Phriya, and they bravely contested with barbed spears. Thus twelve brave chiefs fought hand to hand, enemy with enemy.

The six Girgassi chiefs were thus wielding their maces, and restoring the fight whenever it slackened, when Panglima Bukit, and Sungikala perceiving the slaughter amongst their men flew swiftly to the rescue. Jungikala seized hold of Pakerma Bukit, and the latter also laid hold of him, but the former overpowered him and binding him, delivered him captive to his attendants. The whole Girgassi force on this set up a loud shout, and the warriors threw away their arms and grasped their enemies by main force, and although the adverse chiefs Sri Naira Gunong and Maha Biru Gunong and their men, stabbed and slashed away most valiantly, it was of no use, for these two Girgassi chiefs, Perjang-kala and Karjangkala, engaged with two more chiefs in a close struggle, and made them prisoners. Then the fight was again renewed, for the three Girgassi chiefs darted into the midst

(f) There is another weapons called jar or chigra, of which I cannot get a desciption. It was perhaps a discus. The chalera is elsewhere mentioned.

of the ranks of Dar ul Alum and Dar ul Salam, which gave way.

At this period a Panglima or Kapet of Kalana's force who had thus given way, told the Raja that the five thousand heroes had been slain or made prisoners. When the Rajas of the Samang and Bila heard these tidings they were enraged, and forthwith precipitated themselves into the masses of the Girgassi, discharging their arrows in advancing at Jangi Kala, who only turned a little but was not wounded. Tidings were conveyed to the four Girgassi, who quickly came to the aid of their chiefs. Two of them, Sangkera Angkara, and Phusang Dati Kose came, one on the right, the other on the left of Maha Raja Dar ul Alum, and Phra Si Sim ; and Gra Tang Ta Chau Phruja in a similar way attacked Dar ul Salam. Dar ul Alum was wounded by the spear of Phra Sang Wira Angkara in the side, and then Phra Sang Dati closed with him, while Sang Wira Angkara seized his feet, and sitting on the breast of his prostrate enemy he bound him and delivereded him prisoner to be taken before Kalahom. Dar ul Salam on seeing all this threw away his bow, and grasped his sword striking like a madman right and left. The chiefs above noticed, who were respectively on his right and left, swiftly threw themselves upon him, and after several swords had been broken and a strong resistance had been made by Dar ul Salam with his feet, which excited the laughter of his enemies, he was overpowered, and they were going to tear him in two, each having hold of a leg, when Phra Sang Ye Sim interposed ; and advised that the prisoner should be sent to Kalahom. When the Samang and Bila

learned all these disasters, they set up a loud shout and advanced to rescue their chiefs. But they were intercepted by the three Panglimas of Girgassis and driven back. Then the Girgassi Rajas get on their animals, and rode straight towards the line of Kalana Hetam, where the fight still raged. Now there only remained of all the officers, Kalana Hetam himself. He was excessively exasperated at seeing the field nearly cleared of his troops. He seized his sword and descending from his kaindra-an or conveyance ran towards the Siamese Raja Phra Maha Pho Di. He struck his spear from behind right through the body of Pho Di, who fell down dead. This disconcerted the force of the latter. But the four Girgassi Rajas arriving, they leapt down from their kaindra-an and attacked Kalana Hetam, who was in the act of stabbing at Phra Chao Phringa. The latter evaded the blow by leaping down from his kaindra-an. But Kalana Hetam passed his dagger through his body and killed him. Now the four Girgassis came together and upset Kalana Hetam. But he got up and stabbed at the Girgassi. He struck Sangwira Angkara but made no impression, and was trying the same on Sang Dati Kosa; when the Girgassi struck Kalana Hetam with his weapon. The latter fell; but suddenly getting up he attacked the Siamese Raja on his kaindra-an, who evaded him. The four Girgassi Rajas were very angry at all this, because Kalana would not encounter them. In the meantime Kalahom sent his invulnerables to seize Kalana. But he escaped the hands of the four Girgassi who tried to seize him and attacked Phra Ong Surin with his dagger. They were fighting stoutly, when Sangwira

Angkara, the Raja of the Girkassi seized his sirubah and Phra Sang Dati Kosa seized his jagar and sprung forward to assist Phra Ong Surin, and he tried to wrest Kalana Hetam's dagger out of his hands, in which attempt it broke. Kalana tried now to unsheathe his kris, but Sangwira Angkara threw his iron siruba (*a*) at Kalana Hetam, which twisting round his body secured his arms, and brought to the ground, when he was instantly bound and sent to Kalahom. Kalahom now sent to call as many of Kalana Hetam's men as might choose to come and submit to him.

Kalahom told the four Girkassi Rajas to take all the Rajas, chiefs, officers, and men of Kalana Hetam, [who had been captured or who submitted] and their property and families to the great Raja of Siam, that his majesty might allot them a district to live in; because Kalana's men *were brave*, and their bodies were invulnerable to steel, and would be valuable as servants of the king. Further Kalahom instructed them to give a full account to his majesty of all that had passed.

The *Raja of Ligor*, who was present, said to Kalahom—Your slave is of opinion that all the forces of the five of six provinces now assembled around your highness's camp ought to accompany your highness to Kedda, in case more enemies may be lying in wait on the way. [15]

NOTES.

[15] There appears to me no reason for not believing that an engagement took place between the Siamese forces and those of another

(a) A sort of iron lasso.

nation, in the direction assigned by our author ; although he seems to have drawn for some of his details on a rather exuberant imagination and perhaps on various Hindu or Javan authorities. His heroes are described in somewhat of a homeric strain, if small things can be at all compared with great, and he is certainly equally unscrupulous in his employment of supernatural machinery. There are still extensive plains between Ligor and Kedda.

The Siamese army was commanded as it would have now been under similar circumstances by the *Kalahom* ; this officer is placed at the head of Siamese troops destined to act along the coast, the *Chakkri* commanding forces sent inland.

Kalana Hetam the general of the opposing army is here stated to have come from a lake to the eastward of Pegu, but of such a lake I have not been able to get any account. Kalana in Malayu means a vagabond, and hetam is "black" in allusion to his body having been tattooed. This was doubtless one of the inroads made by the Peguans during the period when the Siamese contended with them for the supremacy over the Tenassorim coast, for Kalana Hetam insinuates in one of his speeches that this was not the first time that he had encountered Kalahom.

The jumble of titles which our author gives to his heroes cannot be reduced to our regular standard. Bali, Persian, Malayan, Siamese, perhaps also Javanese, and one of those belonging apparently to jungle tribes, are all here put into requisition.

The hill tribes, if we are to credit this narrative, were much more numerous and warlike

than they now are. Indeed they have dwindled down into a few roving parties of families, whose numbers seldom at the utmost exceed a few hundreds. But the allusion to them evinces the belief as an early period that these tribes had long settled in the northern parts of the Peninsula and in Pegu, and they were subjects of Siam. The strength of the contending armies on this occasion was exaggerated we can easily believe—yet it is well known that the Peguans, first and then the Burmans and Siamese could bring considerable armies into the field.

The marshalling by our author of the hostile line is in accordance with the system adopted by the Siamese of the present day and of which I have already given some description [a]. Like the Burmese and Siamese and Malays too of the present time, the force we have been following had no tents. They erect huts of branches and leaves, of which they generally find abundance everywhere; and they entrench themselves wherever they halt, even for a night.

Like the Chinese armies, those of Kalana and Kalahom seemed to strive which should frighten the other by the loudest noises.

I once in 1831 visited the Raja of Ligor when encamped with about seven thousand men. The greatest order prevailed and there was no din. The only noise at night was that of a gong at the relieving of the sentinels, and guards. To be sure there were no enemies at the gate, for these had first been subdued, the Malays I mean.

Our author's poetical description of sun rise is of Persian origin. The *Riyang* is a small

[a] Trans. B. A. S.

cicada which is found in all the jungles of the Peninsula. Its creaking sound may be heard at the distance of a quarter of a mile. According to the Malayan annals the Siamese and Malays fought in A. D. 1201 with bows and arrows. And the Javanese and the Macassars when they attacked Malacca in 1440 A. D. they used poisoned arrows, propelled through blow pipes, weapons which the Malacca men were then unacquainted with, which appears strange for the wild tribes of the Peninsula use them [1]. These aborigines of the Peninsula probably had the same kind of weapons then, for I found them in the hands of the Sakai tribe in the heart of the Perak country. The arrow is made of bamboo, and the sharp end is hardened by fire, the other end has a piece of pith. It is blown through a cane tube 6 to 7 feet long preserved in a sheath of a lighter cane. The shooter places the large knob at the top of the tube in his mouth, then having closed his lips he expels the arrow through the tube with the whole force of his lungs. The arrow being so slight flies a long way with the wind, and monkeys are killed by it on the highest trees. The poison in which the arrow is dipped is procured from the ipoh tree, but it has little effect unless used soon after it has been prepared over a fire. The arrow is dipped into the viscous liquid and immediately shot off.

So late as the advent of the Portuguese at Malacca, the natives were astonished at the fire arms and guns used by the former. Yet it is probable that the Arabs had brought fire arms or guns to Achin before that period.

[1] Mal. An. No. I.

The Malayan short kris was in these days two and a half spans or about one foot nine inches long. The umbrella is used by most of the Indo-Chinese nations to denote the head quarters of a general. The Malays employ spears with horse tail streamers dyed red attached to them.

The Sora is a fabulous animal. The Walmana is another. The chakkra is the iron discus. It was used in India, and is one of the weapons of the gods, the chakka of the Siamese, Bali and the Khrong Chak of the Siamese. It appertains in Hindu mythology to those who had attained to that state of purity and beatitude termed in the Bali *reti wato*. It is one of the instruments with which one of the chiefs or officials tortures the damned spirits in Naraka, or the infernal regions of Buddhist mythology, on whose heads it twirls like a fiery whirlwind. According to some authorities the Hindu chakkra was a circular mass of fire instinct with life and darting forth flames on every side. Hence it has been inferred that the above people were possessed of a species of Greek fire or agni astri which they turned to the purposes of war (1). Vishnu bears in his hand the discus termed Suharasan (2) as does also his Sacti. According to Mallet cited by Maurice, the Scandinavian Jove seems to have been armed with the chakkra of Vishnu. And although it is generally I believe supposed that the Druidical Circles in Europe took their form from the great snake with its tail in its mouth as the emblem of eternity still there is reason to suppose that the chakkra, if it did not afford a type for

(1) Wilkin's *Bhagavat*.

(2) Maurice's *Indian Antiquities*.

architectural purposes, was well known to the Druids, for Mr. Maurice acquaints us that in the year 1789 there were discovered gold coins with this emblem upon them in the middle of the ridge of Carnbrehill in Cornwall. As a type of eternity Brahma is exhibited in his statues with the chakkra in one of his hands.

In the Bali Malinda, a work in my possession, I find that the chakkra was one of the seven precious things procured from the Maha Tamootha or great ocean. In this instance as it applies to royalty, it typifies universal domination (1).

The jirubah is the chain weapon made of iron, which appears to have been used in India. It is a sort of iron lasso, only it is not a noose, but an instrument to bring down an enemy by entwining round him if dexterously thrown.

CHAPTER XI.

The General Kalahom did not approve of this new escort and therefore directed the Raja of *Ligor*, and all the chiefs and people of these five or six provinces to the S. S. E. to return home, saying he would write to them if he required their further aid. He then mustered his own force, and found that he had one thousand men fit for duty and unwounded, the killed and wounded having been from three to four hundred. So he sent the wounded to their homes, and prepared to pursue his original journey. He however halted, to refresh his troops for three or four days.

(1) Several of these remarks on the chakkra with others are contained in my paper on the Prabat or "Sacred Footmark" of Buddha. Tr. R. A. S.

The four Girgassi chiefs in the meanwhile requested to have their leave, and to set off for Siam with their prisoner Kalana Hetam—i. e. Kalana, with the *black or tattooed belly*. So they set off for Siam, as did the Raja of Ligor, and the other chiefs and Rajas to their several districts, sending before they left, dressed dishes for the General Kalahom's table. The General then set out on his route, and the inferior Rajas through whose districts he passed, met him and supplied him with provisions. Raja Kalahom after a while arrived with his escort on the border of Kedda, the route there lying along the sea shore. At this period Gunong Tunjang mountain had become annexed to the main shore and was far inland, and passing that mountain, the next one, *Pulo Giryang*, had also become attached to the continent, and obtained the name of Gunong Giryang.

Passing onward along the sea shore, Kalahom noticed numerous prahus sailing to and fro. At length he came to a spot where the ground was raised a little above the general level, and where there was a rivulet abounding with fish; and in the vicinity of which all sorts of game abounded. Here Kalahom entrenched himself within a mud wall and ditch; and then despatched a letter to the four Kedda mantris directing them to come to meet him and to bring their Raja, should they have found one, along with them to partake of the field sports and other amusements, at his encampment at a place called [since then?] *Sungei Sala*. The messengers reached Raja Bersiyong's fort. Here they were told that the four mantris had gone with their Raja (down the river) and were engaged in dig-

ging, what is now called. *Sungei Kwalla Muda*. This new cut was made, because it would greatly shorten the distance from the sea to Kota Aur, Raja Bersiyong's fort, and at the same time straighten the course of that large river, which for ages had been rolling in a tortuous channel. It was also becoming obstructed through time.

After receiving the letter of Kalahom, the Raja and mantris returned to their fort to prepare for their journey to *Sala*. When all was ready, the followers, chiefs and armed men, having every requisite for hunting, fowling and fishing set off. The march was made slowly, the Raja halting for some days occasionally when game was plentiful. In this manner the cavalcade reached the *head* of Gunong Jerrci, where abundance and varieties of fruits were obtained. Thence the route lay *towards* the sea shore where all sorts of shell fish were procured.

The party then directed its march towards SALA ; and on reaching it the whole of the Siamese mantris advanced from the entrenchment or temporary fort and respectfully welcomed the Raja ; escorting him also into the fort with his four mantris. The Raja then sat in state in the audience hall, with all his courtiers and state officers and people around him. Then Kalahom brought forth the paper or firman of the Raja of Siam. This he handed to the four mantris who respectfully received it and had it read. The purport of it was, that the Raja of Kedda was thereafter to be entitled Raja Pra Ong Maha Potisat, (Pho ti Sat). The four chiefs or mantris then related from beginning to end, all that the elephant Kamala Jau-

hari had done towards discovering the new Raja, and Kalahom in return narrated what had happened to him on his route from Siam, observing, that it was very fortunate for the Raja and his four mantris that he had been sent in time, to prevent Kalana, with the *tattoed paunch*, arriving to wrest from them the government of Kedda, telling them also that this chief had been sent a prisoner to the great Raja of Siam. 'We have indeed been lucky,' replied the ministers, 'to have escaped the risks of battle.' Kalahom having thus fulfilled his mission gave feast of all his good things, eatables and drinkables, to the Raja and his four chiefs; and at the same time he had his acts proclaimed by the beating of all sorts of instruments, Kalahom then laid down the Raja's duties for him. It will be, observed he, his duty to exercise forbearance and show kindness towards his subjects, and towards slaves and dependents; to follow just laws and customs, and to mercifully dispense charity towards the poor and the beggar or fakir. Moreover where the punishment of death should be justly merited, and should be due to any one, as to-day, to delay the execution for three or four days. Further he enjoined upon the Raja and mantris, that the Rajas of Kedda should not all stay in one town or fort. The Raja, he directed, should occupy a fort, and all his chiefs should select separate establishments. 'You may perceive, said he,' that large tracts of land have been left dry by the sea, and are available for use, and that here even where I am now residing there are many level and clear spots or tracts very fit for settlements. To these instructions the four min-

isters and everybody else lent a willing ear, and expressed their assent.

So the Raja Pra Ong Maha Potisat prolonged his stay in Kalahom's fort. The days were spent in hunting, and all kinds of amusements, and Kalahom in the evenings instructed the Raja in his duties, and gave him hints for his conduct as a prince (or Phriya).

When the Raja and Kalahom went out in the morning to hunt, each was mounted on a separate elephant, followed by netters and dogs, and accompanied by the chiefs and officers of both. Every one was delighted, as from the abundance of all kinds of game no one thought of the morrow.

One day while thus abroad Raja Pra Ong Maha Potisat discovered a hut in the forest in which an old man resided with his wife. A clump of bamboos, which grew near the house, had a protuberance in the middle where the joint was unusually large. So he ordered this knot to be cut and brought away. To vary the scene Kalahom took the Raja to the sea shore to fish and collect shells. This long stay of the Raja was owing to the delay occasioned by the manufacturing of gold and silver flowers which *Pru Ong Maha Potisat had ordered to be made, in order that they should be transmitted and respectfully presented to the Maha Raja Besar or great Raja (of Siam) in token of his having become the Rajah of Kedda*, and as an earnest of the enduring and unbroken affinity and friendship which was thenceforward to subsist (between Siam and Kedda)

The gold and silver flowers were ready at the end of five months. Raja Pra Ong Maha Potisat accordingly gave them in charge to Kalahom,

and also a number of other presents for his Majesty of Siam, also a letter from himself to his Majesty. *

So the Raja of Kedda and his four ministers asked permission of Kalahom to return to the fort of Kwalla Muda. Kalahom after unceasingly impressing on the Rajah's mind the advice he had before given to him, regarding the government of his country, permitted him to depart, while he himself set off for Siam with the flowers, presents, and letter, these being marks of his having fulfilled his mission by installing the Raja of Kedda, and of all his doings while in that country.

The letter and the gold and silver flowers and the presents were conveyed by Kalahom to Siam, and presented by him to the great Raja as playthings for his child. He also gave a true account of his mission. The Raja of Siam was much gratified. After this period the Rajas of Siam never ceased sending envoys yearly to the country of Kedda, with friendly and amicable letters to the Raja, nor did the Kedda Rajas ever cease to reciprocate such presents and letters. [16]

NOTE.

[16] I have sufficiently identified the places mentioned in the preceding pages. I went last year to look for the place called *Sala* which however had perhaps nothing to mark the spot originally. I proceeded up the stream still called *Sala*, until stopped by a rocky bottom,

* There is no mention here of any relationship existing between the Kedda Raja and the king of Siam, although only two Rajas had intervened since as the alleged brother of Sri Mahawangsa had become king of Siam.

and close to a hill of moderate elevation called Choras on the summit of which I found the remains of what appeared to have been temples. The word Sala is Magadha. Thus in the Mahawanso p. 117 I find it stated the *hall* built on that spot to perpetuate the miracle became celebrated by the name of Sammudasanna - Sala.

CHAPTER XII.

Raja Pra Ong Maha Potisat and the four mantris returned to Kwalla Murda fort, where the Raja continued to govern with justice and liberality.

Now the queen was very sorry to see his highness continue childless, and on this account she performed penances and made vows, offerings, and invocations to her ancient ancestors, and the Rajas of old for their aid, and to the effect that the Raja might be granted a child. Some time after this the Raja's queen gave birth to a male child, resembling his grandfather *Marong Maha Phodisat*. It was of a beautiful countenance and was nurtured and attended in the manner already described for young princes. The Raja named the child *Phra Ong Mahawangsa*, which delighted the mantris and people; being a name of a Raja of old.

The bulu bittong or joint of bamboo which had been placed near the couch of the Raja gradually expanded, and at the proper time it burst, and displayed a beautiful male child, to the wonder of all beholders. The Raja took the child and provided for it in the palace as if it had been the son of a Raja, and he named him Raja Bulu Bittong. This boy was brought up along with the Raja's son, and a warm friendship began between them.

The Raja in time grew tired of the fort of Raja Bersiyong, because he had got a son. [1] The four mantris therefore urged him to

1 A strange reason, but these Rajas were always changing their residence, on one pretence or other.

make an excursion to the sea shore and amuse himself. So his highness set off soon after, and descending by the new cut called Kwalla Muda he followed the sea coast to *Tanjong Putri*. This place did not please him for a new residence, so he passed straight up to *Bukit Mariam*, on which hill he set about erecting a fort and a palace. This hill was near the prison which Raja Bersiyong built on a hill there, hence called *Bukit Pinjara*. Raja Bersiyong had a fort too on that hill. There is a pretty stream at *Bukit Pinjara*, called *Sungei Diddap*. At this river the same Raja had also built a mud fort, to protect the river and settlement from any enemies who might enter from the sea on dark nights.

One day a large and strange object was observed by Raja Bersiyong's queen floating down the river. On approaching in the water towards it the queen found it to be a huge foam bell [2] which bursting disclosed a beautiful female child, who was conveyed by the queen to her palace and there carefully tended and brought up under the name of *Putri Saloang*. The child resembled the children of Indra, or of the Genii, or the Dewattas. She was treated by the queen mother, as if she had been her own child, and the Raja also had a great affection for her.

The Raja meanwhile continued inspecting the building of his new fort and palace, passing down the river from time to time for the purpose. He also directed houses to be built for the mantris, the officers of Government and

2 Like the foam bell—of Palembang which disclosed the “*Putri Tanjong Bui*” Princess foam bell—(Malayan Annals.)

the people, and that these should be arranged in streets the whole way to the sea beach, so that fish became cheap and abundant. The country of Kedda was very populous when this Raja began to rule, and numerous foreigners, merchants and settlers of various countries came there to stay or to transact business. His highness's fame for courtesy, liberality and justice were the cause of this influx; and there were now no complainings of tyranny and oppression. Provisions and other things were also cheap. The inhabitants likewise of distant creeks, bays and coasts of Kedda flocked to the new station or capital.

In course of time the young prince Raja Pra Ong Mahawangsa grew up to man's estate, and it behoved the Raja his father to select a wife for him. He was very accomplished, of courteous and insinuating address, condescending, affable and humane. He was instructed in manly exercises, and used to run tilts on horseback; he and Raja Bulu Bitong encountered thus each other in sport, being both armed with the lance and spear. They ran races on horseback also along the sands on the sea shore north of Kwalla Muda. Both of the youths were soon married, the young Pra Ong Mahawangsa to the daughter of a Raja (no name) and the other to Putri Salo-ang. The prince stayed with the Raja in his new fort, and Bulu Bitong had the old fort of Raja Bersiyong given to him by the Raja for his residence. Thus all was happily settled, and the people flourished.

In the meanwhile Raja Phra Ong Maha Potisat directed a party of men to go and select convenient spots towards the east and the N. N.

W., as he wished to build a fort and palace for his son Phra Ong Mahawangsa, and for Raja Bulu Bittong—but distant or apart from the river Kwalla Muda, 'for' said he, 'I am getting old and infirm, and cannot perform what I have a mind to do while my four mantris (ministers) have become weak from age like their master.' But before the Raja's order could be carried into effect the queen died, and was *laid* with all the solemnities due to deceased royalty, at the upper part of the river of *Pulo Tiga*—where a mausoleum with ornamental pillars, or *kachapuri*, was erected over the remains.

All was then grief and lamentation in the palace. Not long after this event the four mantris one after the other sickened and died, which oppressed the Raja and his son with fresh grief. The obsequies of the four mantris having been performed by the Raja and his son in the manner befitting their rank, the Raja raised their sons respectively to the rank of their deceased parents.

When the Raja's grief for these losses had somewhat subsided, he abdicated in favour of his son *Phra Ong Mahawangsa*; and directed Raja Bulu Bittong to look out for a place where he might erect a fort, and reside for the future. This chief left accordingly with a regular establishment of officers and men. Soon after his departure Raja Phra Ong Maha Potisat sickened and died—and was *laid* by the prince and officers of state with all due solemnity and magnificence. So Phra Ong Mahawangsa assumed the reins of government.

Now Raja Phra Ong Mahawangsa was much addicted to the drinking of fiery spirits, and spirits distilled or prepared from rice, in order

to cure a disease to which he was subject. He had therefore a goodly number of jars of these liquors arranged in his palace. It was his custom after rising from his bed in the morning, and before he had washed his face, or eaten the betel mixture, to call for a *glass* full of spirits. This custom he had followed for years—but beyond this he never *privately* indulged himself in drinking, but *only* drank when at meals *with his ministers and state officers*, nor was he ever intoxicated. [17]

NOTES.

[17] The rites employed by the queen were of Pagan or Hindoo origin, and there are lingerings still of such amongst the mass of the Malays.

Tanjong Putri is a rocky point at the entrance of what was formerly the Kedda (or Muda) river but is now called the river Marbau. It is so called from the fancied resemblance one of the most prominent rocks has to a female—putri meaning a princess.

Bukit Mariam is still known by the same name, as is the hill Pinjara. The jungle is in this quarter so thick that I have only been able to trace a few indications of the sites here as described by our author, but these are enough to convince me of his good faith.

The old Raja had perhaps not been more than ten or twelve years at Bukit Mariam before his son was married, and as he was getting old he may have reached about seventy.

The annalist tries to palliate the frequent application of the next successor Phra Ong Mahawangsa to the spirit jars, by telling us that it was to cure some complaint he was subject

to. But in those times all the people to the eastward used ardent spirits, and they were probably indebted to the colonists from India for the beverage; where the tenets of Islam are rigidly enforced, spirits are not openly and perhaps infrequently drunk. But in those places where a greater laxity prevails, as I believe to be the case in Java, the arak api or fire spirit is used without much reserve. Javanese sailors employed in English vessels prefer gin and brandy and take it neat, grog not being patronized by them.

The Indo-Chinese people who had received the Bali language amongst them were furnished with the names of five different kinds of ardent spirits. The inhabitants of the Malayan countries got these from the Klings. I extract these five from the *Bali* or *Pali* work in my possession called *Milinda Raja*; that is, it is in the Pali character of Laos and Siam.

- 1 Peetha Sura
- 2 Powa Suraka
- 3 Othana Sura
- 4 Paninna Sura
- 5 Sampha rasang yutto.

From the Asiatic researches v. 8 p. 50 it seems that Sura in Sanscrit means *wine* and true wealth. So the Devatas having got it while the Daityas or Titans did not obtain it, these last were called Asura.

I have not space here to describe the mode of preparing all of these. So I will only notice the first. It is made with common rice or the *oryza glutinosa* (of Marsden) or of other grain. The grain is boiled, and when cold a fermenting mixture composed of black pepper, onions, and

garlic, nutmeg and cloves, orange tree leaves, ginger, and the alpinia galunga with cinnamon, chili and the liquorice root, pounded together, is added. The whole is then distilled with water.

The Javanese chiefs appear to have been the most addicted to the use of spirits, a custom they most probably owed to the Indians who under the titles of Buddhists and worshippers of the Gods of the Hindoo Pantheon, so long held spiritual not political sway over Java.

Being Mahometans, the Malays have substituted opium for spirits, ostensibly. Thus Mahomet's injunctions are obeyed, but an equally deteriorating and dehumanizing poison is used in its stead. That lawgiver should have denounced all intemperance and would have acted more wisely. But he had his eye chiefly on his countrymen and stigmatized the vice which he and they were least inclined to as leading to hell, while he gave an unlimited latitude to the sensual indulgences to which they were prone.

CHAPTER XIII.

It is related that five years after the death of the prophet Mahomed, there were holy men and proselytes to his faith in Bagdad. Sheikh Noor Aladin came from Meeca and Medina at this time to the country of *Jawi*, otherwise *Acheh*, bringing with him the holy books, containing the tenets of Islam. There was also a person residing in Bagdad, named "Sheik Abdulla" *the elder of Bagdad*. He was a holy, venerable and wonderful man, and his prayers were very efficacious, so that he was revered in that country, and had a multitude of followers and disciples, who were instructed by him, although he was far advanced in life which he had spent in the faith.

The most sacred book is the Koran. In it are chapters and passages at which devils and evil spirits tremble, and it embodies *hundreds of sacred volumes, the works of the prophets and sages of old, all of which it thus superseded*. The Koran rendered superfluous all the occult sciences of the ancients, such as magic and superhuman powers, by means of which men used to fly through the air, and to traverse the earth or the ocean without being visible, if they preferred it, or of assuming any shape they pleased, if desirous of not being visible. Nevertheless, at the present day, the *true believer and servant of God may by him be endowed with preternatural faculties and powers*.

God also by his decree rendered unavailing the belief entertained by many nations in the efficacy and power of idols, whether these were dumb, or manifested their power like oracles by speech, or whether constructed and fashioned of perishable materials or not, also the adoration of the sun, and the worship of trees, birds and fourfooted animals, and God ordered all these obnoxious things to be carried by his angels to the sea called Kulzoom, which is not accessible to mortals, that they should not be any longer adored as omnipotent, and in order that Islamism should be firmly established, a faith promulgated by the prophet Mahomed, and comprised in his written ordinances.

There was a holy Sheikh of Yemen named Sheikh Abdulla, who went from Mecca to Bagdad and became the spiritual guide of Sheikh Abdulla the younger of that city. He instructed his disciple in the Fakahat or contents of the book of knowledge, and also in the Sufi-doctrines. He likewise explained to him the various commentaries, Tufcir, or the Koran. He (the younger Abdulla) was so well versed in the Koran that he could repeat without once looking at it, the whole of its thirty divisions. This holy man Sheikh Abdulla the younger once found in the Tufcir an account of Iblis, the chief of the devils, who walked about the earth, disturbing its inhabitants with his evil instigations, destroying the fruits of a virtuous and holy life, and frustrating the best intentions of the good and wise. He led men by a smooth path into error and vice, and made them believe vice to be virtue and virtue to be vice [“the worse appear the better reason”]. But no man can see, as it is written in the Tufcir, the

devil, nor can *he* endure the Koran. Still he will (occasionally) molest and destroy even those who read or adopt the Koran. One day Sheikh Abrulla the younger got permission from his guru Sheikh Abdulla the elder to have an interview with this chief of the devils. The guru laughed and said, 'You cannot meet the devil; if you do, all your just virtuous and holy life will be as nothing, and he will lead you into the path of error.' But the Sheikh of Yemani persevered in his desire, so the guru gave his permission. He then proceeded into the plain, and sat down as directed by the guru below a large tree. According also to his guru's instruction he had brought all his clothes with him. He here hoped to meet Iblis, and learn from him all his stratagems and wiles practised towards mankind. Before setting out he took his meal and dressed himself in his turban with the corner falling down, and a suba coat of three folds, and a kittang or vest with four folds, and a sash, and he performed his ablutions with holy water. When the disciple had set forth, then his guru took holy water and offered up a prayer to God that the devil might encounter his disciple. The disciple being thus seated during the still of the day below the tree, he began to read the Koran softly, when all of a sudden he heard a noise as if some one was approaching, and before he could collect himself he received a very smart slap on his right cheek, from an invisible hand, and on turning round to that side, he got a still smarter slap on his left cheek, although all this while he had not ceased reading the Koran. So growing afraid he ran home, and reported the matter to the guru. The latter told him that

of course he could not expect to see Iblis if he kept reading the Koran, since this chief of the devils hated to hear it read. Sheikh Abdulla the younger went the next day in the same way, and sat below the tree; but did not read the Koran. It was not long before he observed a venerable Sheikh approaching him, who was dressed in green, whose beard descended below his breast, and who held a staff in his hand. His appearance was quite astonishing, for his stature was prodigious. On reaching the pupil he made salaam, saying—‘Salaam aleikum oh Sheikh Abdulla.’ The latter quickly returned the salutation, asking who the other was, and his business. Why, said the chief of the devils, did not you wish to see me? So you are indeed the chief of the shaitans? Yes, I am their chief, and now what would you desire of me? Why, replied Sheikh Abdulla, I have been exceedingly anxious to meet with you as I desire to have you for a guru, or teacher. Iblis replied, how can I become your spiritual guide, since all my actions and thoughts are the reverse of yours. How can I bear your chidings or admonitions. The disciple should put implicit confidence in his teacher. All my disciples must be like myself. Sheikh Abdulla rejoined—My lord pray instruct me, for I will obey you, and follow what you say, else how can you be my guru. Iblis consented, and putting his staff into Sheikh Abdulla’s hands, bade him follow his new guru. This staff rendered its holder, when he pleased, invisible.

It would be wandering from the subject of the Kedla history to follow these two travellers. Suffice it to say that Iblis led his pupil over various regions, displaying by numerous feats

and contrivances his power over their inhabitants. (a)

At length the travellers reached the *kaſir* country called Kelda. Here they entered the palace of Pra Ong Mahawangsa ; and before he was wide awake stood beside his bed curtains. Presently the Raja awoke and called for his usual glass of spirits. The page went to fill it from one of the jars, when the wretch Iblis stepping up defiled the beverage, he being invisible. The Raja drank it off, when Sheikh Abdulla losing his temper said to Iblis, God bless me ! [istaghafar illa], why did you defile the Raja's draught ? Iblis replied -Did I not caution and direct you not to question or find fault with what I might do towards any of your race ? True, said the other, and I should not have found fault with you elsewhere, but here you have have had the hardihood to behave thus towards a great prince, who is about to be one of God's vicegerents. The Raja was astonished to hear people squabbling so close to him, without his being able to see them. But just at this moment Iblis got angry with his pupil and said to him, ' Since you have become so clever, it is time that we should part.' Hereupon he suddenly snatched his staff out of Abdulla's hand and thus left him visible to the Raja, he himself departing. The Raja took Sheikh Abdulla by the hand, and inquired to whom he had been just speaking, and perceiving his dress which was foreign, asked where he had come from, and how he had got into his sleeping apartment, since the attendants were

[a] A separate translation may be given hereafter of these travels. If the countries could be identified it might be useful in shewing where idolatry still prevailed.

still asleep. So he received the information he demanded, and Sheikh Abdulla related all his adventures in company with the devil. Bagdad, rejoined the Raja, by the accounts of *navigators passing to and fro, between it and Kedda*, is from three to four months sailing distance.

'What is now the religion of this country,' said the Sheikh addressing the Raja? 'My religion,' replied Raja Marong Mahawangsa, and that of all my subjects is that which has been handed down to us by the people of old; the old men of former days. *We all worship idols.*' Has your highness then never heard of Islamism, and the Koran which descended from God to Mahomed, whose tomb is at Medina, which has superseded all others, leaving them in the possession of the devil. The devil could not act as he does if the Koran were generally known. I pray you then if this be true, said the Raja, to instruct and enlighten us in this new faith.

Sheikh Abdulla in a transport of holy fervor at this request of the Raja, hugged, embraced, and kissed the body of his highness. He then instructed the Raja in the *shahadat* [1] or creed.

His highness then sent for all his jars of spirits, and with his own hands emptied them on the ground. After this he had all the idols of the *palace* brought out. They were heaped up in his presence and that of Sheikh Abdulla. There were idols of gold, and of silver, of pottery, of wood, of earth, and these were (all) *in human shape* and had *human features*.

[1] I am conscious or sure that there is no God but God. He is one, there are not two, and I also believe that Mahomet is the servant of God, and also the prophet of God.

All these were broken, and cut to pieces by Sheikh Abdulla with his sword, and with an axe, and the fragments and dust were scattered about. After this he burnt the whole in the fire.

The Sheikh asked the Raja to assemble all his women of the fort and palace. When they all had arrived in presence of the Raja and the Sheikh, they were all initiated in the agama of Islam.

After all these deeds, the Sheikh took refreshment, observing that he had fasted for seven days and nights, while travelling with Iblis, as his mind had been absorbed with what he saw.

After dinner the Raja drank coffee and tea, (kawa and te) along with the Sheikh, who expatiated on the feats which he had seen Iblis perform. The Sheikh was mild and courteous in his demeanour, persuasive and soft in his language, so that he gained the hearts of the inmates of the palace.

The Raja soon after sent for the four mantris, who on reaching the hall were surprised at seeing a Sheikh seated near the Raja. The Raja told the mantris the mode of the Sheikh's arrival and his object. The four chiefs expressed their readiness to follow the example of his highness, saying, we hope Sheikh Abdulla will also instruct us. The latter on hearing this speech embraced, hugged and kissed the four mantris. He then said, to prove their sincerity, he hoped they would send for all the people to come to the audience hall bringing with them all the idols which they were wont to worship, and the idols which had been handed down by the old men of former days. The request was obeyed and all the idols kept and possessed by

the people were at that very time brought down and there destroyed and burned to the dust ; no one was sorry at this demolition of their false gods, all were glad to enter the pale of Islamism.

Sheikh Abdulla after this asked the four mantris, 'What is the name of your prince.' They replied his name is Pra Ong Mahawangsa. Well, said the former, let us change it for one in the language of Islam, and Malayu. After some consultation the name of the Raja was changed at his request, and by Sheikh Abdulla, to *Sultan Mulzufulshah* or *Mazulfulshah*, because, said the Sheikh, it is a celebrated name ; and is found in the Koran. It is a name that is greater than every other in this world.

The Raja now built mosques wherever the population was considerable, and directed that to each there should be attached forty-four of the inhabitants alone, as a settled congregation, for a less number would have been too few for the duties of religion. So mosques were erected and great drums were attached to them to be beaten to call the people to prayer on Fridays, but infidels were expelled from the mosques.

Sheikh Abdulla continued for some to instruct the people in the religion of Islam, people flocking to him from all the coast and bays, and districts of Kedda and its vicinity. In fact he initiated them in all its forms and ceremonics.

The news of this conversion of the Kedda people by Sheikh Abdulla reached Acheh ; and the Sultan of that country, and Sheikh Noor Aladin sent the following to Kedda :—

First the Siratulmustugim.

Secondly the Malim Hetam or Babul Nikah.

The Sultan and Sheikh Noor Aladin's letter and two books arrived at Kedda and the following was the substance of it. "This letter is from the Sultan of Acheh and Noor Aladin to our brother the Sultan of Kedda, and Sheikh Abdulla of Yemen, now in Kedda. We have sent two religious books, in order that the faith of Islam may be firmly established and the people be fully instructed in their duties, and in the rites of the faith." A letter in reply was sent by the Raja, and Sheikh Abdulla thanking the donor. So Sheikh Abdulla redoubled his labours and erected additional small mosques in all the different villages for general convenience. He also directed the five prayers for each day, and he ordained that in the month of Ramzan a measure, of Bagdad, of rice should be given to the poor by each person for the purpose of purifying their bodies. He also directed that the great festival where prayers are offered up, the name of the Sultan should be mentioned in them. (2)

All such rules and observances are for the purpose of keeping the faith in the minds of the multitude and for perpetuating the same till the day of judgment.

The sacrifice of animals, such as buffaloes or goats, on the tenth day of the month Dalhaija,

[2] Here follow various directions for fasts, prayers and other observances as practised at Mecca, which, as comprising those now existing in western Mahomedan countries, are too well known to require repetition here, independently of encumbering an historical translated work with dissertations on divinity. I have retained only so much as may serve to illustrate the manners of the people of Kedda at the period, and the way in which they were converted. The list of fasts may be found in the Straits Almanacs.

and agreeably to the mode practised at Mecca, is to be performed by every one.

The Raja and his wife were constantly with the Sheikh learning to read the Koran. The royal pair searched also for some handsome girl, daughter of a mantri and of the lineage of the Rajas of the country, to be the Sheikh's wife. But no one could be found willing to give his daughter thus in marriage, because the holy man was about to return to Bagdad. and only waited until he had sufficiently instructed some person to supply his place.

Now at this period the Sultan had three sons. Raja Mazim Shah, Raja Mohamad Shah and Raja Soliman Shah. These names were borrowed from the Koran by Sheikh Abdulla, and bestowed upon the princes ; whom he exhorted to be patient and slow to anger in their intercourse with their *slaves* and the lower orders, and to regard with pity all the slaves of God, and the poor and needy.

CHAPTER XIV.

To proceed. It is mentioned in saying [which have been handed down to us] that Raja Bulu Bittong, husband of Putri Saloang he who had received instructions from Raja Phra Ong Maha Potisat to proceed to the N. N. West, * in quest of a spot to settle on and build a fort and palace, had departed accordingly. In his absence Putri Saloang fixed her affections upon the son of one of the four mantris, and the result of their illicit intercourse was a son, whom she named Muggat Zeinal [1] but with the knowledge of the Sultan Mâzulful Shah. The latter took the child and had it brought up along with his own three sons and instructed like them in the tenets of Islam.

Raja Bulu Bittong set out as before narrated, with a large train. He passed by many eligible spots, but would not settle himself upon them. At length he met with the mantri who had been directed by Raja Bulu Bittong's father, long before, to search for a new residence. They were busy in erecting a fort at this place ; which lies *far up* the large river, but below the [tributary] "stream called *Padung Trap* [2] that is lower down the great river." [Kwalla Muda]. The Raja halted here with the intention to complete the erection of this fort. But

[1] Muggat means the male descendant of a marriage or connection between a female of the Raja's family or class, and a male subject.

[2] This direction is rather out, as Padang Trap lies nearer to the N. or rather it is about perhaps N. N. E.

an old chief amongst the numbers present, addressing the Raja, said, ' We have foolishly and in vain constructed this fort and formed this establishment, because it is at a most inconvenient distance from the mouth of the river,' ' If this be the state of matters,' replied the Raja, ' let the half of our number descend the river a little way.' So his highness set off with a party down the great river, and reached a high spot of ground on the left bank [descnding] On the left of this spot there is a stream [which flows into the great river.] Here the Raja directed the very thick pallas jungle to be cut down. When this had been done, he built a mud fort, with fences of pallas trunks, and of dangser. People of the present day call it Kota pallas.

While both of the forts just mentioned were in progress there came a report of the death of Raja Pra Ong Maha Potisat, the father of Bulu Bittong, and of the misconduct of Putri Saloang. Raja Bulu Bittong was so incensed at this latter piece of intelligence, that he never again returned to the fort of Kwalla Muda, but resided always at Kota Pallas.

But he had not been here very long when news arrived that Dattu Sunggi and his four brothers had left Patani at a place between Patani and Chanak. Their caste was bad and wicked. The second brother was named Tuan Sinni Ipoh, the third Tuan Sinni Ratu, and the fourth Tuan Sinni Payu. These four brothers were certainly of a wicked race. They were shunned and their acts disapproved of by every body. They robbed and stole, killing people and plundering their property, they used opium, gambled, and fought cocks with artificial spurs.

They had besides a host of worthless fellows along with them, to the number of three or four hundred. These unprincipled villains came by stealth and suddenly to the fort highest up the Muda river. Raja Bulu Bittong happened to be at the time at the lower fort. When he learned the near approach of these robbers he hurriedly armed himself on horseback so quickly that he had not time to put on the saddle, and he had not more than about a hundred men with him, who were armed. Without waiting for re-inforcements or for the mantris, warriors, officers, and other men he set forth towards the upper fort, only leaving orders for these to speedily follow.

When he reached the fort there was much fighting going on, for there were many villages in its vicinity and hundreds of the villagers were assembled in the fort. Dattu Sungi had intended to storm the fort at once, but he could make no impression when he tried it, for he was met face to face at the gates, and obstinately opposed. In the midst of this tumult arrived Raja Bulu Bittong, whose men instantly drew their swords, prepared their other weapons, and then charged the enemy most vigorously, plunging into its ranks, so the battle raged. When Tuan Sinni Ipoh saw Raja Bulu Bittong advancing, mounted, he rushed upon him, and threw his spear, but the Raja swerved his body so that it missed him, and he then wheeled his horse, and brought Tuan Sinni to the ground by a stroke of his spear on the *helmet* of Sunni. But the latter drew his kris and springing up again fiercely attacked his foe. The Raja warded off his blow with his spear, and pierced Sinni through from breast to back with the

spear, and so he fell and died. Then rose the war cry of Raja Bulu Bittong's men. When Tuan Sinni Ratu saw his brother fall, he grasped his sword and struck at the Raja, but missed, while the Raja's spear pierced the sword hand of Sunni Ratu who thus fell and rolled on the ground four yards away from the Raja, his right arm being broken. But he started up, and with his kris in his left hand he renewed the fight, but after three or four passes he could not inflict a wound. The Raja watching his opportunity, plunged his spear into the neck of his adversary and slew him. The remaining two brothers of those thus slain now attacked the Raja, one on each side. But the Raja warded off their blows, and with his spear he ran Sinni Payu through, and killed him. Now there were only the Raja and Datu Sungi who fought with spears. The battle raged, and the fight was close and deadly, the kris being the chief weapon, men died in mortal embrace, and torrents of blood flowed. Bodies lay in heaps and heads rolled like weights separated from the broken steelyard, while scattered arms in heaps wounded the feet like ranjous [a]. Datu Sungi on seeing the slaughter of his men receded a little, and on his turning the Raja hit him with his spear in the side without wounding him, although he fell down. Starting again to his feet he got hold of the spear the Raja had cast at him, and threw it at the latter, who was slightly wounded. His Highness fastened tightly his spear head and aimed at Sungi, piercing his thigh through and through. But even in this plight

[a] Ranjous are short bamboo sharpened stakes set in the ground to obstruct an enemy.

he pushed his spear at the Raja, and wounded him again only slightly. The spear becoming bent, Sungi drew his long kris and attacked the Raja wounding him in the ear, and nearly upset him, and following up his advantage he inflicted a wound on the Raja's back. The Raja Bulu Bitong enraged at this rushed at Dattu Sungi with his spear and pierced him in the throat and also through the body, and rolled him on the ground. At this time Sela Putra arrived on horseback, and found the Raja dizzy, and covered with blood, and just about to fall. He lifted him up and carried him into the fort. He then returned to the fight. He found that half of Dattu Sungi's men had been made prisoners and all of the rest not killed and wounded had escaped. The four brothers lay dead on the field. Raja Bulu Bitong *vanished* during the ensuing night, and returned to his original state--(that is he died.) [18].

NOTES.

[18] I have elsewhere remarked that the Kedda annalist merely alludes to the religion which prevailed in that country at the period of the missionary Abdulla's arrival. He tells us only that the images, probably household ones, and kept by the people, were destroyed. But in the Achinese annals it is stated that Johan Pulawan went there long after [in the year of the Hejira 1027 or A.D. 1649] to "more firmly establish the faith, and to destroy the *houses* of the *Liar*" meaning the devil. Abdulla had arrived in Kedda according to the same annals in the year of Hejira 879 or A. D. 1501. So that idolatry was not rooted out until A. D. 1649 or 148 years after Sheikh Abdulla's ar-

rival in Kedda. In the above year Sultan Secunder Muda who was before named Johan Palawan of Achin had conquered the countries of Delhi [in the year of Hejira 1021] Bentan [in the year of Hej. 1023] then Pahang [in the year of Hej. 1026] and Kedda [1027,]

The remains of numerous temples which I discovered, being induced to the search first accidentally by having seen some loose bricks lying in a spot in the forest, and afterwards from reading the above noticed passages, when joined to the ruins of almost every fort and site described in this history of Kedda likewise found by me, are so far satisfactory, that they verify the main points of that history. All due allowances should be made for the sports of the imagination indulged in by our author. It is not long since supernatural powers were believed in Europe to be acquired by individuals, and when there were always ready reasons to account for what ignorance could not unfold, and supineness would not try to unravel. In a word, what would many of our European histories be if undecked in the flowers of fiction, and did not a vigorous, clear and lively imagination cast around the past and the probable, and often even the improbable, a bright halo of seeming reality. The Baconic method cannot be applied to history, so long as we see not the whole links of cause and effect, but it is to be feared that excepting in the gradual working out of great social and political problems and changes, and in those stirring cases where events often surpass fiction, history would be little better in many civilized countries than a mere dry chronicle. It is easy to state probable facts, and then to draw inferences and

advance reasonings on them as if they were truths.

It is curious that neither the writer of these Kedda annals, nor the compiler of those termed *Sigara Malayu* or Malayan Annals, have described the nature of the predominant or state religions of their times. Our present author contents himself with shewing only that the Kedda people '*were image worshippers*' while the Malayan Annalist leaves us to guess at the religion of the Malays of Malacca.

I have discovered several inscriptions in what I take to be the Pali or Bali character, carved on stone. But they I fear afford no dates. But as they are apparently in very old forms of that character, some light may be thrown on the period when they were employed in Kedda. As we have no Pundits in the Straits I purpose submitting these inscriptions to the learned in Calcutta. One of these inscriptions, or rather a part of one, which I discovered many years ago near the almost obliterated remains of an old temple, has been pronounced by the late and lamented Mr. Prinsep to whom I sent it, as "in a style of letter nearly that of the Allahabad No. II." It seems to me that another inscription, found on a large rock at Tokoon in Province Wellesley [a] may also prove of some value, although I doubt if it bears any date. The character is evidently I think one of the ancient forms of the Bali or Pali, and I hope to obtain a translation of it. In all my numerous excursions in the jungles here I have discovered undoubted relics of a

[a] Some Malays shewed it first to Mr. Thomson, Government Surveyor, as a boundary stone, and he therefore paid no attention to it. I copied the inscription with the greatest accuracy as the letters are very large.

Hindoo colony, with ruins of temples. This tract extends along the talus of the Kedda mountain Jerrei. Besides the Sivaic emblem I found several copper coins. My researches have been unavoidably slow from the almost impenetrable state of the forests, and from the necessity imposed on me by the mendacious or exaggerating propensities of the natives, and the absurd and vexatious jealousy of their rulers beyond our frontier. As I cannot here enter into a disquisition on the ancient religion of this portion of the Continent, I will merely observe that my researches have clearly proved that the people worshipped Buddha and at the same time Siva, and *perhaps* some other Hindoo Deities but that these last classes appear to have predominated in the end, their advancement perhaps keeping pace with the gradual success of the Hindus in India in their rivalry with the Buddhists. Marong Mahawangsa it will be observed brought his idols with him. The credulity with which our author gulps down all the wonderful stories of Sheikh Abdulla is not greater than the avidity shewn by the Malays of the present day to credit every thing related of their prophet and holy men. Pious frauds it appears were equally in vogue with the imams as with the priests of other religions. But religion has generally sat very loosely on the bulk of the Malays, and unless the individual be a priest he often contents himself with allowing others to pray for him. The Mahometans were too far off from the seat of their power to think of establishing their creed by the sword, so that persuasion alone was adopted. The process therefore of conversion was slow, and men, after the people had consented to desert

their idols for the new faith, still cherished a superstitions reverence for, or stood in awe of, these ancient gods. Even at this day their indirect influence on the minds of the least educated classes is considerable. Thus, although Sheikh Abdulla persuaded the Raja to destroy his idols, of which I have had proof in the mutilated images I have discovered, they were not all destroyed, until one hundred and forty-eight years subsequently to that event. The gold and silver idols were doubtless converted into coin or ingots.

The use of tea and coffee, shews that these luxuries reached them by commerce. It is curious that although coffee grows well under shade on this coast, the Malays of the present day do not take much advantage of it.

We find of course that mosques rose rapidly on the ruins of the idolatrous temples, and that buffaloes were sacrificed instead of *rams* at the haji feast, the scriptural sacrifice of a ram instead of the son of Abraham,—a practice still continued, for besides the religious act, the Malays prefer the flesh of the buffalo to that of the cow, a predilection, which probably arises from a lingering impression that this latter animal was venerated by their ancestors. I may likewise mention that I found several small talismans of leaf gold amidst the foundations of temples. These are of a triangular shape and the base about as inch long with old Siamese characters upon them, and several quotations from Pali or Sanscrit religious works, and in a character of the Pali closely approaching to, if it be not the nagari. I have not, owing to the causes alluded to, concluded my researches, but hope in time be able to finish them.

CHAPTER XIV.

After the departure of Raja Bulu Bittong, the mantri Seta Putra sent a letter to Sultan Muzuffur Shah informing him of the late battle, and that he could not attend the presence in person as there was no one left who could take charge of the two forts, and few left to defend them.

The Sultan said to the four mantris, after the letter had been read. "What advice my brothers do you give in this case?" "Your Majesty, replied the ministers, we think that as you are getting old, it will be best that your Majesty should send two of your sons to rule over the two forts." The Sultan agreed, and turning to Sheikh Abdulla asked him to confer a title or name on his eldest son, because said he, I wish to establish him as Raja in a fort near to my own residence about a day or two's march off only. The Sheikh consented, requesting that all the mantris' sons should be collected whose parents were old. This being accomplished, he gave to the eldest prince the name of Sultan Maazim Shah. He then selected four of the sons of the mantris present to compose the council of state of the newly made Raja, or Sultan, These were named by the Shcikh as follows:—First the Maha Raja, The second Paduka Raja. The third Paduka Sri Pirdana Mantri. The fourth Paduka Raja Tamanggong.

Now, said Sheikh Abdulla, since there is a Sultan for that country, and your Majesty is old, it would be proper that your Majesty should

abdicate in his favor, and assume the dignity of *Marhum*. Very true, said the Sultan, aged rulers should retire into the dignified state you have mentioned. There cannot safely be two princes in authority at the same time. True, replied the other, for such is written in a book.

The Sultan now made preparations for his son's expedition like those usual when going to war. There were brought into requisition all the paraphernalia of Government, the throne and other insignia of a Raja, and all that the armoury afforded, with ministers, officers and attendants.

Meanwhile the two brothers requested leave to depart for their several governments. Followed by the usual retinue they marched to Kota Palas. Here the Mantri Seta Putra put Sultan Maazim Shah in possession of the fort, and then proceeded with Sultan Mahomed Shah to Kota who was established as its Raja or governor. Thus Sultan Maazim Shah was firmly installed in the Government and throne of Kedda.

After the departure of the two brothers the Sultan Mazulfulshah had two vessels prepared. In one of these he sent his son before alluded to, Raja Soliman Shah, with a competent retinue of officers and men to form a settlement and to erect a fort and palace at Lankapuri. In the other vessel Sheikh Abdulla embarked, and after he had seen Raja Soliman Shah fixed in his Government he set sail directly over the deep waters for Bagdad, a voyage of three or four months, touching at various places and countries for wood and water and provisions for his ship, and then he shaped his course for *Hindustan*, and finally coasted home-

ward passing the Baldiva islands to wood and water and provision where he arrived in safety, and met his spiritual guide again, to whom he related all that had happened to him and what he had seen since their separation.*

* Ceylon is not mentioned either in the coming or returning voyage. The ship must have gone to Kalinga.

CHAPTER XV.

It is orally related that not very long after these events, and the abdication of the Raja in favour of his son, it happened that Sultan Mazulfulshah sickened, and passed away from this transitory world into the world of eternity, returning to the mercy of God. So his son Sultan Maazim Shah continued to reign over the country of Kedda, which flourished exceedingly both as regarded its internal government and population, and as related to foreign trade. His highness also married the daughter of a Raja. He had a son by this lady. But in time Sultan Maazim likewise returned into God's mercy. He was succeeded by his son who was made Raja by the state officers in the usual way, and was named Sultan Mahomed Shah. His son Mazulfulshah succeeded, then his son Sultan Solimanshah the prince who became Marhum, or died, at Acheh. His son again, Sultan Raja Aladin Mohained Shah who was Marhum at Naga in Kedda. His son Sultan Mahia Aladin Mansur Shah, he who was Marhum at Senna in Kedda. His son again Sultan Aladin Mahakarram Shah, who became the Marhum, as he was called, of the lower part of the river and the balei or hall. His son Sultan Atta Ullah Mahomed Shah. He it was who became the Marhum of Bukit Pinang in Kedda. His son Sultan Mohamed Jiwa Zoin al Adin Maazim Shah, who became Marhum of Kiyangan. His son Sultan Abdulla Alum Kurm Shah, who was the new Marhum of Bukit

Penang, as he was afterwards called. The younger brother of this Raja succeeded him, and at Kiyangan, (Purlis). This Raja was the son of Sultan Mahomed Jiwa Zein al Aladin Ma Alum Shah and his title was Sultan Zea Udin Ma Alum Shah. The next Raja was the son of Sultan Abdulla and his title was Sultan Ahmed Saj Udin Alim Shah, the last Raja who possessed any degree of separate authority. [b] [18]

[b] The following are or were the relatives of this Raja, not including his immediate ancestor in the succession :

- 1 His mother Tuan Mas, alive.
- 2 Tuan Bisnu, her youngest son, dead.
- 3 Tuanku Chik, sister of Chao Pangeran.
- 4 Tuanku Jumjum, younger sister of do and wife of Tuanku Long Puti.

4 Tuanku Tam, mother of Tuanku Kudin, the man who so long disturbed Kedda in trying to expel the Siamese, dead.

1 Mother of the Raja Muda and daughter of a Patani chief, dead.

2 Her son the Raja Muda called Tuanku Ibrahim, brother by the father's side of Chao Pangheran the late ex deceased Raja. Now governs the district of Kwalla Muda, close to the British frontier.

- 3 Tuanku Soliman, brother of Tuanku Ibrahim, dead.
- 4 Tuanku Su his son, dead.
- 5 Che Fatim Dewi female. } Children of Sultan
- 6 Tuanku Daud, male. } Mahomed Jiwa, dead.
- 7 The Chindra Sari } Children of that Raja by another
- 8 Tuanku Mom. } wife, dead.

Family of the Ex-Raja.

- 1 Ex-Raja Chao Pangeran or Tuanku Pangeran, dead.
- 2 Tuanku Abdulla, eldest son, dead.
- 3 Tuanku Yacoob, 2nd son, dead.
- 4 Tuanku Daii, 3rd son, now governor of a part of Kedda.

Family of Tuanku Ibrahim.

- 1 Tuanku Ibrahim.
- 2 Tuanku Mahomed, son.
- 3 Tuanku Hassan.
- 4 Tuanku Mahomed Jiwa.

Family of Tuanku Solimen.

- 1 Tuanku Soliman, dead.
- 2 Son Tuanku Mahomed.
- 3 Son Tuanku Mat Ali.
- 4 Tuanku Mahomed Kappie.

Family of Tuanku Bisnu.

Tuanku Mahomed.

Tuanku Mahomed Akeeb.

Tuanku Mom's Family.

- 1 Tuanku Jaffer.
- 2 Tuanku Anoom, killed in fight, son.
- 3 Tuanku Mahomed Ali, son.
- 4 Tuanku Allang, son.

Tuanku Daud's Family.

1 Tuanku Mahomed Saad, who was the leader of the last rebellion against the Siamese power, died in 1847. He married Tuanku Soliman's daughter.

Issue by her.

NOTES.

[18] Sheikh Abdulla arrived in Kedda in the year of the Hejira 879 or of A.D. 1501. There were seven chiefs including the first who had governed before his advent, besides an interregnum of 7 years, and one of these chiefs is not named. Allowing to each thirty years, which I think are not too many with advertance to the average of life of Malayan princes generally, and to the fact that the period of each successive Raja after Islamism was introduced and when Kedda was subject to invasions and wars averaged twenty-eight years. Thus we shall have the year of Christ 1284 as the date when Marong Mahawangsa reached Kedda from India, and most probably, from the remains I have found, from Kalinga. The Kedda Raja who first went to Malacca to get the noubuts or drums of ceremony from Sultan Mahomed is not named in the Malayan annals. This was about perhaps A. D. 1540. The re-

ligion of Islam was finally supreme in Kedda on the arrival of Johan Palawan A. D. 1535.

The following are the conclusions which I think necessarily follow an analysis of the Marong Mahawangsa :

First—Kedda or Srai was densely peopled long before the arrival of the Indian colony, and either by the Siamese, or some other cognate race, but most probably by the former, but that this country was only inhabited by wandering tribes when Ligor was first conquered by Siam about A. D. 700 to 800, and had not then been formed into a province, but existed under chiefs. In any case Kedda could hardly fail when it became originally peopled to come under the direct government either of Ligor first perhaps, and then of Siam.

Secondly—That the colonists or rather strangers were not conquerors, but were permitted on their special solicitation by the aborigines or Siamese of Ligor to form a settlement, and that, probably owing to their superior civilization, the chief of the colonists was selected to govern the whole by the paramount power in the N. E.

Thirdly—That the account of the ambassadors from *Rum* is a fiction with reference to Kedda, but may have been *in part* true with respect to some other country.

Fourthly—That the original Hindu settlers were few, but that they afterwards received accessions from Kalinga in India, and were mixed up latterly with the Siamese and Malayan races.

Fifthly—That these colonists were idolaters, and chiefly if not wholly, worshippers of Siva.

Sixthly—That the assumption of a grandson

of Marong Mahawangsa having given a king to Siam is a Malayan and Islamitic political fiction. But that the statement itself would lead us strongly to infer, that Kedda was a Siamese province when that young prince set out towards (it is stated) the North N. West. But that this last direction is clearly a clerical error, for would lead into the sea, and the intention of the author and his naming of *Siam Lanchang* indubitably indicate that the direction was *east-erly*, and that the route terminated close to the sea on the gulf of Siam. This if N. N. E. instead of N. N. W. would bring the end of the journey very close to Ligor, which solution I am the more disposed to adopt, because this town lies on the present direct line or route to Siam from Kedda, and has always been up to the present day in close connection with Kedda.

Sixthly—That when Kedda began to be thus visited by Indians, and became a trading port, the Siamese established a regular provincial Government there, appointed Governors under the titles of Phriya or Phraya. But that the Hindoo chiefs substituted within their own jurisdiction and amongst their own people the title of Raja. That special deputations of officers also of high rank, were sent from the capital of Siam to instal each successive Governor in his office, and that where no political obstacle interfered, the succession to this office, as is the case with regard to other Siamese provinces, was allowed to descend from father to son.

The later history of Kedda may be thus shortly summed up. I have indeed had no means beyond oral traditions for filling up the blank from the period when Islamism was in-

troduced up to about that when the British appeared in the seas to the eastward. The country was attacked on several occasions and overrun by the Achinese and the Illanoon pirates, and perhaps by other marauders, with whom its population from its agricultural habits seems to have been unable to cope, and it was often called upon by the Siamese to join in their wars against Ava.

The Rajas after their conversion to Islamism doubtless began to dislike their rulers on account of their religion, which was Buddhism, and watched for an opportunity to cast off their allegiance to Siam. But they found it dangerous to call in the aid of any one of the Malayan states further east, because it was just as likely as otherwise that any such ally would find it convenient to gratify the feelings of his piratical followers by keeping possession of the country after having freed it from its state of subordination to Siam. When, however, Europeans began in number to navigate the Bay of Bengal, and Portuguese usurpation and aggression had ceased in the Malayan Peninsula, the Kedda Rajas thought that it would be a grand stroke of policy to ally themselves with one of the European powers, and if possible with the preponderating one. Overtures were accordingly made to the Dutch, who were, on the decline of the Portuguese, the most influential nation to the eastward, but nothing worth recording was concluded. Some preliminary negotiations were also entered into with the French but these also proved unsatisfactory.

The British soon after entered on the field, and as they were in quest of a settlement, the then Raja of Kedda eagerly met their views by

ceding Pulo Penang, to which Province Wellesley was afterwards added. The cession was made under the express avowal of the Raja that he was an independent prince [] The Siamese court protested against the cession, but as the island was then apparently to them of little or no value, and they were involved in constant war with the Burmans, the subject was dropped, and the right to occupy as acquired by actual occupancy was subsequently admitted by Siam. The treaty of cession was not an offensive and defensive one, so that the chief object of the Raja was defeated. Such a treaty could not have been justly framed by the British when it became clear, as it soon did, that Kedda was subject to Siam. It was clearly the interest of the then Raja to deceive Captain Light, the original negotiator, while that officer seems to have been quite ready to give credence to his positive assertions of his independence. One advantage the Rajas did gain and kept up to the expulsion of the late Raja, and this was that the knowledge of a friendly relation subsisting between Kedda and the British deterred the Siamese court from many acts of sovereignty, of no very mild character perhaps, which it would else have inflicted on that country. But the feeling was obliterated by time and old customs again resorted to,

The late Raja who enjoyed the Siamese title Chao Pangeran, but who was a person of little political foresight, and acted (as the Malays generally do) from the impulse of his feelings, became refractory, and was expelled by a Siam ese force in A. D. 1820. He took refuge within

the British territories, where he continued to live until a few years ago, when by the intercession of the Indian Government, at the suggestion I believe of Governor Bonham, the Siamese were induced to permit him to return to Kedda as its Governor. But they gave him only a part of the country, from and including Kedda river and a space to the N. of it; south to Krean river [excluding of course Province Wellesley.] The three other portions were placed under Malayan chiefs. When this had been effected, the Siamese Governor was with his troops withdrawn.

The Raja died in about 1845-46. and one of his sons Tuanku Daii, having gone to make obeisance at the Court of Bangkok, was placed in the Government with an inferior title, for it is the policy of Siam to elevate public officers by degrees of rank according to their merits.

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